Down the Down Staircase *Andrew Kopkind*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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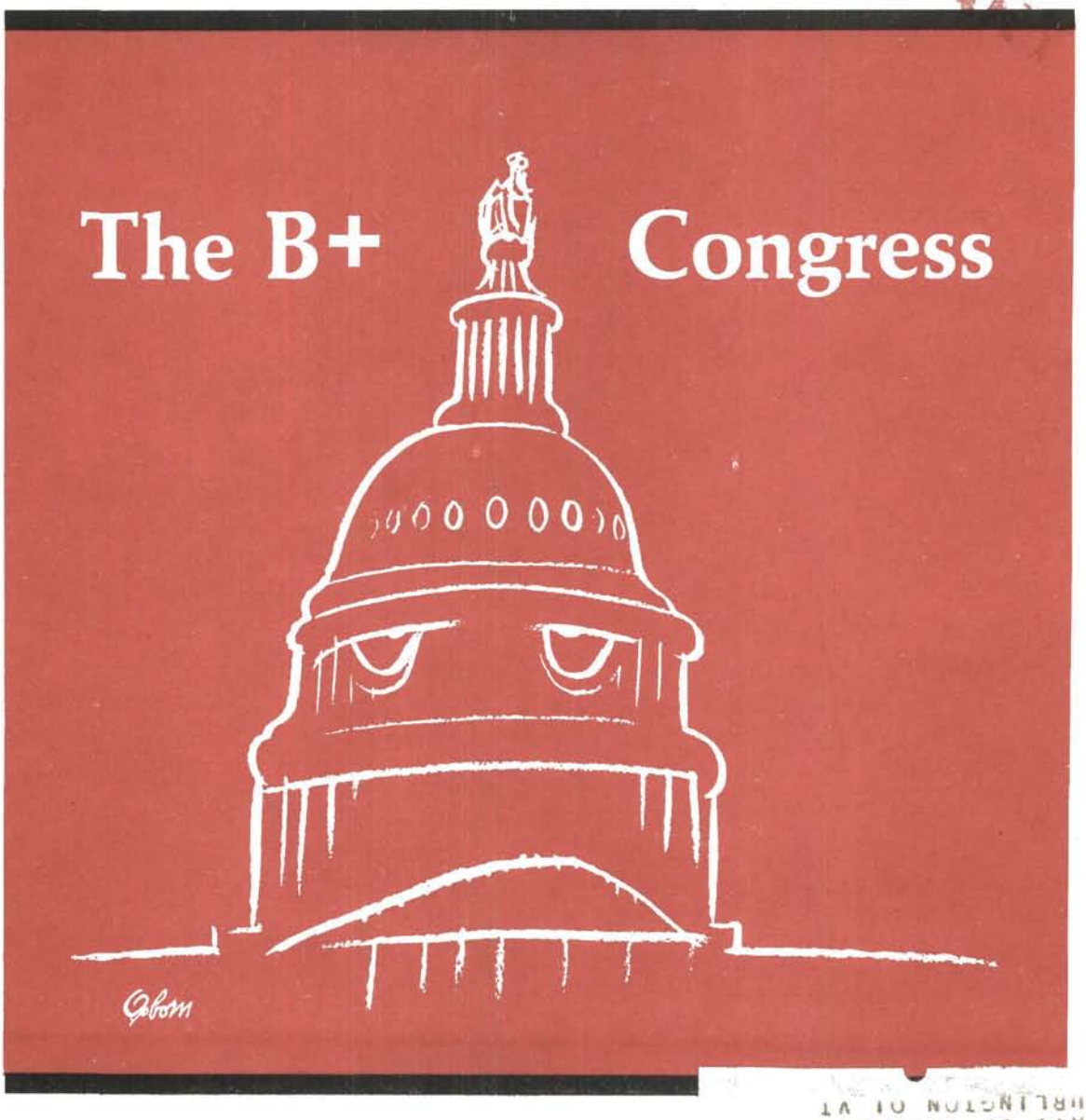

NEWSPAPER
GUY W BAILEY
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GIs Enter Viet Delta For 1st Time
U.S. Escalates Draft Quotas
Major Step-Up in War Expected After U.S. Election
8-Year Run Seen for War In Vietnam
BIGGER WAR IN VIETNAM
U.S. is setting up a major escalation, a move into the Mekong Delta—
STRATEGISTS SEE NEED IN VIETNAM FOR 600,000 G.I.'S

ESCALATION!

These headlines spell danger. They may well spell disaster. At best they promise a long, brutal and damaging war in which the major losers will be the people of Vietnam. At worst they are another step along the road to a war with China and a possible World War III. The war has already dimmed many of the high hopes for a Great Society at home. What chances remain may well be obliterated in the falling bombs of a new escalation. This vicious cycle of escalation must be reversed, and YOU can help.

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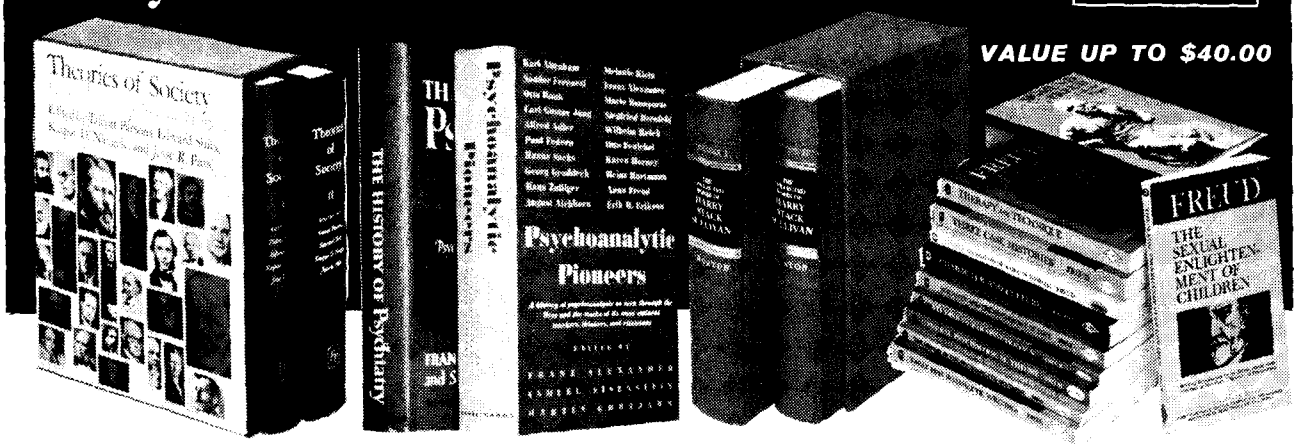

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Shrewd and Slick

★ Our man LBJ surely gets around. When you read this he will presumably be in New Zealand or those parts. He has Republicans jumping in frustration. He has a galaxy of journalists accompanying him, from papers able to ante up $8,000-$10,000, sending back human interest bits that have space priority because they cost so much. He is as peripatetic as hurricane Inez. And as hard to encompass.

If you are quite objective and detached you may find his maneuverings amusing. His popularity polls have plummeted partly because his problems are horribly difficult, and partly because of character traits that make him hard to love. But he intends to be a great President or bust. Maybe this attitude is self-defeating. We don't know, but it is hard not to give him an underdog sympathy vote.

His popularity declines, so what does he do? – goes off to Asia where he dominates the home election news. It is shrewd, yes, shrewd and slick. Before he goes he promises to increase social security benefits by 10 percent. About all the frustrated Republicans can say to this is that "if next year, why not now?" Another slick maneuver.

We don't particularly sympathize with the GOP either. They have had two years to rebuild their party, to unite, to modernize, to chuck Goldwater, to present some constructive counter-proposals. They could have created a National Advisory Council of best minds like the one Paul Butler put together for the Democrats after the crushing 1956 defeat. They didn't; instead they left power in the hands of the uninspiring Dirksen - Ford legislative leadership, masked by the so-called Coordinating Committee. The gains the GOP make November 8 will not be due to themselves but to failings of the Democrats.

We thought Johnson's speech in New York, seeking better relations with Russia was splendid, like Kennedy's historic American University speech. Mr. Johnson asked friendship with Moscow and urged "healthy economic and cultural relations with communist states" and followed with mild trade concessions.

Readers probably aren't aware of the really quite extraordinary spread of far-right radio, magazines and organizations in this country, operating just below the surface. Should the US ever have a bad foreign scare they will be out of their cracks before you could say "McCarthy."

What are they going to say, now that Mr. Johnson is publicly wooing Moscow? He is a terribly hard man to call "soft on communism." You may dislike his flirtation with Big Business and his "consensus" but, let's face it, it is a shield against rabid charges of harboring subversives.

Oddly enough, in this topsy-turvy world, it is business that wants closer trade contacts with Moscow, the AFL-CIO which swoons at the thought. Never underestimate the profit motive as a civilizing force. In contrast, the department of international relations of the AFL-CIO recoils, like a spinster who has just heard a four-letter word, when somebody mentions "co-existence." It has publicly rejected as "spurious hopes" any "illusions about a durable *detente* and 'liberalization' behind the Iron Curtain." George Meany and Robert Welch agree on that.

Well that is LBJ's brighter side. To weigh against it we won't take Vietnam, but a lesser and recently announced program, a program that seems to us motivated by a reluctance to bring conservatives down on his neck.

Economic Turnabout

★ The President's spokesman, Gardner Ackley, recently told the National Industrial Conference Board that the Administration's first economic objective must be to dampen the growth of the economy to "about four percent a year," or what he figures to be the "growth of our physical capacity to produce."

Free of technical language, this is a program of putting a brake on America's amazing capacity of expansion in order to halt mild inflation. The present growth rate is five or six percent a year; in World War I it was around nine percent. Four percent seems tragically low.

Leon Keyserling calls the Ackley statement "the most unfortunate turnabout in national economic policy since the turnabout from Woodrow Wilson to Warren G. Harding."

This seems strong language; why is it so important? Because the Administration is now consciously lowering its sights with the almost certain knowledge that it will increase unemployment, aid the lenders (rich) at the expense of the borrowers (poor), undercut the Great Society and accentuate the increasingly unequal distribution of war sacrifice.

Cutting back economic growth from five percent to four percent doesn't sound big. But in our economy it amounts to about $52 billion over ten years; from six percent to four percent is more than $100 billion. Take the smaller sum; what does it mean? Well, there are about 34 million "poor" people in the US by official definition (family income under $3,000, for instance). That $52 billion, if distributed as annual income, would be four times the amount needed to lift *all* Americans now below the poverty level out of so-called "poverty." There would be enough left over to *double* all present social security benefits, instead of increasing them a mere 10 percent, as Mr. Johnson proposes.

Inflation? Yes, there would probably be some inflation, as there was in WW II, but there was then also the greatest redistribution of income, and the greatest improvement in living standards, in history. The Vietnam war is the first war the US has ever fought where corporate profits have been so vast on one side, and wage levels so restricted on the other (let alone Negro unemployment) that the disparity of national income has actually *increased*. Well, that disparity is bringing inevitable union revolt. But it seems shameful to plan consciously for economic contraction, the specific goal set by Mr. Ackley, instead of taking alternate steps to expand production.

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Backlash Jitters

CONTENTS

COMMENT 5-7
Backlash Jitters, Senator Kennedy's Slum Plan

But Mahoney Stood Outside – *Gerald W. Johnson* 8
The Hardest Campaign of Paul Douglas' Career – *Richard T. Cooper* 9
Down the Down Staircase – *Andrew Kopkind* 11
The 89th Congress, Key Votes 15

Tenor on Horseback – *by Stanley Kauffmann* 23

BOOKS – *Essays and reviews by Philip Toynbee, Robert Coles* 24

FILMS *by Pauline Kael* 30

CORRESPONDENCE 36

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The 89th Congress, the President said in Newark last week, has done more about education, health, poverty, transportation, conservation, pollution, immigration, cities "than all the other 88 Congresses since this nation began" – a hyperbolic but not bogus claim. Toward the end, however, it became caught up in a mood of reaction against the civil rights revolution – a point Mr. Johnson did not make.

The reaction began in the House in July, during debate on the Administration's civil rights bill of 1966. The House passed it, but not before tacking on a provision to punish rioting as a federal crime, and another disclaiming any federal interest in racial imbalance in public schools. The civil rights bill died in the Senate, but the mood that killed it hung on. The Senate, critical of HEW's far from spectacularly successful efforts to desegregate Southern schools and hospitals pursuant to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 – efforts which are nevertheless too successful for the Senate's present taste – cut the requested HEW civil rights enforcement appropriation and tinkered with the guidelines for hospitals.

The House, which had heard the calm and capable Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe II, called "a misfit" and "an idiot" by Rep. L. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina, and "a socialized quack" by Rep. Paul Fino of The Bronx, attached to one of those education bills proudly mentioned by the President provisions forbidding the Commissioner of Education to require the assignment of pupils or teachers in order to overcome racial imbalance, and complicating the procedures by which the Commissioner may withhold federal funds from a school district that refuses to desegregate. The House intends to hold further hearings on HEW's civil rights activities, and it has not abandoned the intention to define some sort of federal crime that will cover rioting. Assistant Attorney General John Doar has explained to a House judiciary subcommittee the technical and constitutional difficulties raised by this proposal, but – apparently – no matter. (New Jersey, trying to deal once with another form of lawlessness, passed a statute punishing as "gangsters" persons without lawful occupation who were members of a "gang" and had a record of criminal conviction. The statute was declared unconstitutionally vague in 1939.)

The anti-riot fury also spilled over into this year's poverty bill. It emerged from the House with a rider forbidding the Office of Economic Opportunity to use any of the funds appropriated "to provide payments, assistance, or services, in any form, with respect to any

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individual who incites, promotes, encourages, or carries on, or facilitates the incitement, promotion, encouragement, or carrying on of, a riot or other civil disturbance," or who "assists, encourages, or instructs any person to" incite, promote etc. or to facilitate the incitement etc. This monstrosity – it reads like a nightmare version of the small print in a lease – is qualified only by the requirement that the riot or civil disturbance in question must be one that violates some local, state or federal law. In the Senate, almost identical language was offered by the current Senator Byrd of Virginia (known as Young Harry). But the Byrd amendment was embellished at the end by an additional section also denying poverty funds to any person who is a member of an organization included on that almost forgotten relic – the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

The passage of the Byrd amendment in modified form through the Senate is an illuminating episode. Young Harry is evidently a man of few words. His proposal seemed to him "clear on its face." Obviously the demonstrators at whom it was aimed should not get taxpayers' money. What was there to discuss? But there was discussion, by Senator Javits of New York, by Gore of Tennessee, Kennedy of New York, Clark of Pennsylvania, Saltonstall of Massachusetts. They asked whether one who refuses to inform on rioters falls within the prohibition, and are his children to be excluded from a Headstart program, and does one who seems to condone a riot by explaining its causes fit the definition of any person who "encourages" another "to facilitate the incitement . . . of a riot"? It was pointed out that a fight between two boys in a school-yard might well qualify as a "civil disturbance" in violation of local law. It was indicated that since the provision withdraws funds as a punishment for the violation of other laws, and does so by administrative action, without a jury trial, it is constitutionally vulnerable as a possible bill of attainder. And quite aside from all that, it was maintained that the whole would, if taken seriously, so burden administration of the poverty program as to bring it to a dead halt.

"Man, you ain't learned the art of survival."

The upshot was that Senator Spessard Holland of Florida, coming to the assistance of the mute and unmoved Young Harry, cleaned up the language. In the end, the amendment was written so as to withhold funds more simply from anyone who riots or encourages rioting, or assists or encourages another to riot or encourage rioting. This change does not meet fundamental difficulties, which include the vagueness inhering in the words, "riot," "assist," "encourage." And the provision about membership in an organization listed by the Attorney General was left intact. Nevertheless, the modified Byrd amendment was passed 39-32 with 29 senators, among them many northern liberals, absent. Bayh of Indiana, Brewster of Maryland, Dodd of Connecticut, Ribicoff of Connecticut were among northern Democrats voting yea. Most Republicans did so, but not Dirksen and two or three others, including, of course, Javits.

Riots in this mood are not something to be dealt with at the root, but a barking dog to be silenced. Riots are nasty, and every effort must be made to control them when they occur. But what sense is there in trying to insulate rioters from the effects of a poverty program aimed at preventing riots; to insist that vocational education or youth employment "benefits" be withheld from participants in a riot, so that they shall remain – they of all people! – untrained, unemployed, on the streets? The Congress may bristle at such remarks as Stokely Carmichael's during the Atlanta riots ("come back at 4:00 o'clock and tear this city up"), but you don't lower a fever by forbidding it. As for a federal criminal statute – can it add much by way of deterrence to the ample and vigorously enforced local and state criminal laws?

There's always tomfoolery in the last days of Congress, but the country is in real trouble if the 90th Congress also gets the backlash jitters and takes riots and white fears as a mandate to slow down civil rights.

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Senator Kennedy's Slum Plan

Three weeks ago we described what looks like the beginnings of a new cities industry. But as of now, there is little incentive for business to work in existing city slums where massive rehabilitation is most needed. President Johnson's demonstration cities plan would make a small dent. Senator Robert Kennedy, on the the other hand, is well along with an interesting scheme for rebuilding entire slum districts, creating work for Negro residents.

Kennedy proposes to set up a public non-profit or limited profit corporation to engage in the reconstruction of decaying Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant in New York City. About 500,000 people live there, most of them Negroes; an estimated 20,000 Negroes are unemployed. The senator wants to spend about $1 billion between 1967 and 1971 to construct 60,000 dwelling units for 200,000 people. This would get the venture underway, and it would be steadily expanded, costing up to $15 billion by 1977. By spending $250 million a year, Kennedy says, 15,000 building trades jobs can be created. Of this total, 60 percent will be for skilled workers, and 30 percent for apprentices and laborers. From the outset, the apprentices and laborer jobs would be filled by people in the area, but local people with skills would get a crack at the better jobs, and as construction moved ahead and workers were trained, local people would definitely move into skilled jobs.

Equity financing would account for 10 percent of the venture; the rest would be in mortgages. Kennedy argues that most of the equity could come from the slum people themselves, who in return would receive preference for new housing. This seems a bit farfetched on first glance. But Kennedy is saying, in effect, that if given a real incentive the poor Negroes will scrimp a little from their low wages and put it into the project. The median family income in Bedford-Stuyvesant and Harlem is about $3,500, and the senator believes it possible to raise $25 million from the populace in the first year. In addition, those employed in construction might be required to invest a certain fixed amount of their pay in the corporation; they would get shares in return.

As in any other real-estate development, mortgage financing would come from insurance companies, banks, and industrial corporations.

The problem is to get rents down. For example, it costs $15,000 to develop a two-bedroom apartment; if it were financed over 20 years at 6 percent, there would be a monthly payment of $107.50 for debt service alone. If it could be financed over 40 years at 4 1/2 percent the debt service would run $67.50 a month.

Federal mortgage insurance programs for low-income housing are not big enough to make any difference in a major slum rehabilitation program. In the end, the government surely will have to insure loans for slum rehabilitation. But Congress must be persuaded. Kennedy proposes to sell Congress on the idea by first getting foundations to subsidize interest rates. Under his plan, the development corporation would have a debt of $900 million by 1971. If foundations would assume 3 percent of the interest on this debt, it would cost them $27 million a year, which, Kennedy says, is about what they spent on race relations during 1965. In addition, industrial corporations, which are looking for a way to involve themselves in rehabilitating cities, might want to take advantage of tax deductions, and contribute to subsidizing the interest rates. They might look on it as advertising to create markets. At the very most the interest subsidy would come to $13 million over the first two years of the venture, and by 1969, Congress might be persuaded to expand the low-interest funds necessary to make these community development corporations going affairs around the country.

Legislation would be required in New York to make such a corporation a reality. It would need authority to condemn land; real-estate taxes would need to be abated, but churches and universities already are exempted from these taxes, and it can be argued that rescuing the slums is of equal importance.

Kennedy argues that after five years, a multi-billion-dollar community development corporation could substantially effect the movement of Negroes to the suburbs by constructing large blocks of housing there. It could negotiate with industrial firms for building factories to serve construction efforts. In short, the ex-slum dwellers would have an economic base; the business would be directly responsive to people living there.

Agencies within the federal government also are discussing plans for building low-income housing, and in time, these may lead to financing community development corporations. Last summer the Office of Science and Technology and the Department of Housing and Urban Development pulled together government and business specialists at Woods Hole, Mass., to work on city problems. One proposal was to set up a federal agency that could guarantee loans for low-income housing. The President would appoint the new agency's directors from government, business, labor and the civil rights movement. The aim would be to replace five-million substandard houses over the next decade by using modern building methods, after which the agency would be disbanded.

Kennedy may try to launch a community development corporation in New York after the election. The government agencies are refining their own ideas. And Senator Ribicoff's subcommittee, which has been looking into unrest in the big city slums, is expected to inquire further into ways of rehabilitating slums.

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But Mahoney Stood Outside

Baltimore

The eminent Mr. Hank Bauer, manager of the Baltimore Orioles, stoops under the sheer weight of his laurels since his baseball team won the World Series in four straight games, yet no one has thought to award him a wreath as a practicing psychologist who had two strikes on Sigmund Freud. The Los Angeles Dodgers were ambushed, not on the playing field but before the regular season ended.

Mr. Bauer's strategy throughout the season was to accept all criticism. He had no pitchers. He admitted it. Such as he had were afflicted with strained tendons, arthritic elbows, and fractured fingers. He admitted it. Would he then appeal to the Commissioner to stretch the rule to allow him to use a brilliant youngster whom he had picked up after September 1, closing date of the roster? No, "I'll go with what I have," said Hank. "Eight to five on the Dodgers," said the bookies.

It was true that the upper end of Bauer's batting order, Aparicio, Snyder and Robinson, had gained the name of a Baltimore revival of Murder Incorporated, but that was in the American League. "Any of the first three teams in the National can take the Orioles," said the Atlanta manager. It seemed reasonable. The Dodgers had Koufax, greatest pitcher in the world, and behind him Drysdale and Osteen, only less great. When it was announced that Drysdale would lead off in the first game, "Seven to five on the Dodgers," said the betting fraternity.

But in the very first inning of the first game Murder Incorporated fell on the hapless Drysdale with the utmost ferocity. With a man on base Robinson, F., belted one that is still out somewhere in the wilds of southern California, and Robinson, B., hit the next one into limbo. Three runs. Three were enough.

Hank had in his bullpen an array of cripples, two moderate-to-good pitchers, an ancient retread cast off by the majors a year earlier and picked up by the Orioles as an eighth-inning relief, and (by baseball chronology) two boys and an infant, respectively 22, 21 and 20 years old. He sent one of the boys, McNally, against the terrible Drysdale. But in the second inning the Dodgers scored, and in the third loaded the bases with one out. Here the grand strategy opened up. Instead of one of his regulars, Hank sent in the old retread, Drabowski, who walked one man, forcing a run, but then started mowing down Dodgers with the rhythmic monotony of a sickle in a weed-patch. He fanned 11, six in a row, and presented the Dodgers with six goose-eggs. It was startling. Still, the incomparable Koufax was to come up the second day. "Thirteen to 11 on the Dodgers," said the bettors.

Apparently disdainfully, but actually cannily, Bauer sent in the infant, Palmer, not yet old enough to vote, tall, graceful, and with a fast one that was terrific. Koufax lasted six innings, but it was six errors by his support that let him down. Some say that the infant's fast one was fastest in the ninth. Be that as it may, he was still there and he had shut them out. "Even money and pick your team," said the fraternity.

But the real drama came with the return to Baltimore on Saturday after a day's rest. It was cold fury against fierce exultation. Blandly, Hank sent out his other boy, Bunker, to contend against Osteen, third of the great Dodger pitching triumvirate. Osteen lived up to his reputation. In the first inning he wrecked Murder Incorporated; nor was anybody making any errors that day. So it went for four innings, nothing to nothing. Then out from nowhere – seventh in the batting order – stepped an inconspicuous person named Blair to whom nobody had given a thought, and Osteen made his one mistake. He gave him a fast high one on the outside, and Blair swung. A fan near the top of the Baltimore stadium, approximately five stories above the ground, caught it and swore it was still on the rise. That was all; there wasn't any more. It ended one to nothing and the Orioles had three straight. "No money at any odds on the Dodgers," said the bettors.

But Hank Bauer wasn't quite through operating. Sunday he sent in his first boy, McNally, once more to face Drysdale and retrieve his reputation. It was a shrewd bit of psychology, and it worked, although it was a near thing. They could hit McNally, but not when and where it counted, although one tremendous wallop brought Blair into prominence again. He and the ball raced for the fence. At the last moment Blair flew into the air and crashed into the fence. But the ball didn't. It was in his glove. Hurt? "Naw," said Blair. "That fence was only wood; I've hit worse than that." The final word too was with Blair. It was the ninth, two down and two on base, when the Dodger batter sent a skyscraper curving toward the center fielder. Blair hardly moved out of his tracks. "I just stood there and wished it would hurry," he said. "Seems like I waited all season for that ball to come down."

So Hank Bauer, master psychologist, opened the way for Frank Robinson and Paul Blair, both of African descent, to become civic heroes in Baltimore. And as the crowd poured out of the stadium Saturday, George Mahoney, who won the Democratic nomination for Governor of Maryland on a racist platform, stood, busily shaking hands and autographing programs.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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The Hardest Campaign of Paul Douglas' Career

Chicago

Last winter, when Charles Percy was trying to decide whether or not to become the Republican candidate for US senator against Democratic incumbent Paul H. Douglas, many observers considered Percy's chances so slim that they suspected his GOP rivals of setting him up for the kill. Today, the odds are even.

The transformation of the Percy-Douglas contest from a sure-thing to a horserace is directly connected to several other equally astonishing changes which have occurred simultaneously: the plunge of President Johnson's popularity, the foundering of the civil rights movement and the rejuvenation of white racism, the metamorphosis of record prosperity into a particularly disagreeable kind of inflation, and the general erosion of that pervasive public confidence on which a political party in power must depend.

Douglas is threatened more by a confluence of national and local troubles than by his opponent. Though young and photogenic, Percy falls short of having the personal magic associated with, for example, the Kennedys. His strongest appeal seems to be among young, middle-class suburbanites, for many of whom his success in business may correspond to their dreams and expectations. Factory workers, farmers, and small-town businessmen find him less exciting.

In 1960, when he won the gubernatorial nomination after a bruising primary fight with William Scott, who had the support of many party regulars, Percy depended on a volunteer or "citizens" organization. He lost the election to incumbent Gov. Otto Kerner by 200,000 votes, but out-polled Barry Goldwater by over half a million. In the process, however, he alienated still further the Republican professionals. A member of Percy's staff said recently that there remain "some tender places, some wounds still unhealed," but in general relations between Percy and the professionals are much improved. Nevertheless, veteran political observers have reported widespread hostility to Percy among downstate Republicans. "The more they see him the more they hate him," one reporter remarked after a swing downstate earlier this fall.

The chief political impact of the tragic murder of Percy's 21-year-old daughter Valerie on Sept. 18 may be on Percy's personal image. In its own terrible way, the tragedy has humanized him for many people. Beyond that, the effect of the murder is hard to pinpoint. At first, many assumed it would tilt the election to him, but a massive sympathy vote does not seem to be materializing. Democrats, on the other hand, are keenly aware that Percy's display of courage and strength on resuming the race will probably make a deep impression on voters. The tragedy of course rules out direct attacks on Percy himself, but that is scarcely a handicap for Douglas; he has never waged such a campaign.

Percy need not raise the age issue directly; it raises itself. Douglas is 74, Percy 47. Douglas has white hair and a craggy, lined face. Percy has dark hair and a face which looks even younger than it is. In hundreds of subtle ways – from wearing an open-collared shirt and no tie for his billboard photograph to opposing water pollution by taking a brisk, well-publicized half-mile swim in Lake Michigan – Percy can draw the distinction. Age is not entirely a disadvantage, of course. Douglas has emphasized the benefits of his seniority and experience, and he looks the way most people expect a senator to look. One Chicago political columnist wrote recently, "if the tide of battle turns toward the Democrats it will come (in my opinion) when, and if, Douglas and Percy hold their first face-to-face debate. . . . Thus far in the campaign Percy has made few mistakes. One has been to challenge Douglas to a debate. The second will be if he ever lets it happen."

The inflation issue is prominent only in the minds of certain groups of voters – those on fixed incomes, housewives whose budgets are squeezed between rising food costs and previous time-payment commitments, people hurt by the impact of high interest rates on the housing market, for example. Percy has appealed directly to housewives by distributing shopping bags marked with "Fight High Prices" slogans. Douglas marshals statistics to show how slight the price increases have been in comparison with gains in general prosperity.

President Johnson's announcement of an anti-inflation program took some of the bite out of the issue by ending, at least momentarily, the feeling of drift. Also, many workers are protected by escalator clauses. Labor is primarily interested in freedom to bargain for the sizeable wage increases it feels entitled to in the coming negotiations with major industries. Neither Douglas nor the President has indicated any serious intention of thwarting them; the big unions are with Douglas.

In Illinois, as elsewhere, the Vietnam issue is less in the news, as an issue, than it was a few months ago. That is not to say it is no longer on the minds of the voters. As one parent told a Chicago *Sun-Times* straw pollster, "If you had five sons, you wouldn't need to ask how I'm voting – straight Republican." The decision is a protest against the situation as it exists, not a choice between the positions of Douglas and Percy. While opposing escalation that would seriously increase the risk of bringing China into the conflict, Douglas has supported the Administration position. Percy's position is similar, though he, like most Republican candidates, has sought to be sure voters understand just which party

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has been in office and unable to end it. Percy's contribution to solution is his "Asian peace conference," a meeting of Asian nations, including Communist China, to settle the Vietnam problem. The proposal ranks with Percy's challenge to debate Douglas: it will look like a good idea only so long as it never happens. Yet its political appeal is obvious: it says, in effect, that the US could wash its hands of the whole ghastly business by turning it over to the Asians. Undoubtedly it will move some voters to the Republican side of the ballot, but one would guess the number will be small. Those who mean to punish the President on this issue by voting against Douglas decided to do so long ago and other election results suggest their numbers are not decisive.

The public's general unhappiness with Lyndon Johnson is the product of a host of specific issues, but there seems to be an additional element: a feeling that the President has lost control. The contrast between the brilliant performance in the earlier years of the Johnson Presidency and the presence today of problems which seem to defy solution does not produce sympathy for the President. His calm, almost paternal, pronouncements only seem to make many voters more angry. There is little Percy can or need do to capitalize on this feeling. It is simply something he will benefit from. Douglas cannot grapple with it directly either. He can only present himself to the voters for what he is, an intelligent, fiercely independent figure.

There is very little question that the reaction against Negro rioting, civil rights marches on behalf of open housing, and the spectre of "Black Power" is cutting deeply into Douglas' support. Many Northerners who supported civil rights agitation in the South have reacted in angry astonishment to Negroes' assertion that similar tactics are proper in the North. Open housing carries with it an intimacy of contact that is not involved, for the Northerner at least, in desegregating public facilities. Even knowledgeable, sympathetic whites are reluctant to jeopardize their children – either physically or intellectually – by staying in a school or neighborhood that is "turning over."

The feeing is particularly strong in certain working-class areas in and around Chicago where civil rights marchers encountered bitter hatred and violence late in the summer. A preliminary poll by the *Sun-Times* in such wards showed Douglas trailing Percy and his own past performance. The losses are particuarly acute because they come in some of the traditionally Democratic strongholds where margins must be rolled up sufficient to offset Republican majorities outside the Chicago area.

Democratic strategists had hoped the backlash would recede before Nov. 8, since demonstrations have tapered off under a truce arranged by Mayor Richard J. Daley. Now, however, Robert Sabonjian, Democratic mayor of Waukegan, a city just north of Chicago which had its own racial flare-up in August, has declared himself a write-in candidate for senator. Sabonjian blamed the violence on civil rights agitators and characterized those who took part as "scum, winos, and junkheads." A *Sun-Times* street corner survey in Waukegan indicated that Sabonjian's votes will come from Douglas' past total, not Percy's. Even if Sabonjian's appeal only succeeds in spoiling a lot of ballots, Percy will gain.

The Negro vote in Chicago is huge and unless the Daley organization rests on its oars, it should land solidly in the Douglas column. Percy opposed open housing in 1960 and has said relatively little about it since his conversion. He has also made some effort to court Negroes directly, but they pale before Douglas' long record of championing civil rights and memories of his wife, Emily Taft Douglas, at the head of the column in Selma.

Douglas is not a product of the Daley machine, but it has its own good reasons for returning him to Washington. Organizations thrive on victory and tend to unravel in defeat. A Percy victory would be a serious blow to Mayor Daley's prestige and a nationally publicized slap at President Johnson; the mayor's hot line to the White House would almost certainly go dead.

One indication that the organization takes the Douglas race seriously was its decision last spring to run Adlai Stevenson III for state treasurer, the second slot on the ballot. Stevenson led the ticket in the at-large election of state legislators in 1964. It was his first bid for political office. He is attracting a great many independent and Republican votes; it is less certain how many he will add to the Douglas total.

In assessing Douglas' chances in November, one must remember that he could lose a good many thousand votes and still win. Of his three victories, the closest was in 1954, when he won by over 240,000 votes. His margin in 1960 was over 437,000. Part of his secret is tireless traveling throughout the state year in and year out. Endowed with a phenomenal memory for names and family histories, Douglas maintains almost personal contact with thousands of people up and down the state. He has paid particular attention to the depressed areas of Little Egypt at the southern end of Illinois. The area redevelopment law was tailored to its needs and Douglas is not regarded as an outlander there, as other Chicago Democrats are.

Beyond all this, many of his followers have a special feeling for Douglas. If his stump speeches turn into discourses on John Stuart Mill and English history, as one did before a crowd of auto workers a few weeks ago, the audience may grow restless, but many in it are pleased. One man recently marked a pollster's ballot for Douglas with great gusto, saying "That's my man. They can't bust Douglas. He's too smart for them."

RICHARD T. COOPER

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Down the Down Staircase

Parents, Teachers, and Public Authorities

by Andrew Kopkind

New York City

Most of the 564 pupils at Intermediate School 201 in East Harlem will emerge from the eighth grade in worse shape than when they entered in the fifth. It is not easy to see why. The New York City Board of Education will spend $54 million on new buildings this year, provide mountains of modern materials and equipment, and introduce various curriculum innovations. But it has found no way of upgrading the education of slum children. Three years ago, half the sixth-grade pupils in Harlem were judged "retarded" by two years or more below the city-wide average in reading achievement. Today, close to 85 percent of the children are in that condition. The figures are as bad in arithmetic tests. The dropout rate is growing; two-thirds of the students who enter Harlem's one and only high school never graduate, although a "general" diploma requires little more than attendance every so often in a classroom. Last year, only 13 graduates got "academic" diplomas, allowing them to go straight to college.

Shortly after he took office, Mayor John Lindsay noted with some puzzlement that although New York spends more money per child on education than any comparable city, its schools were "not demonstrably better." In many ways they are demonstrably worse.

White parents in the upper-income classes in New York long ago stopped worrying about public education. They send their children to private schools. Less affluent whites limit their concern to the "threat" of integration, which they find inconvenient, unsanitary, and perhaps educationally damaging. The fight for "quality education" has been left primarily to Negroes in the slums. But officials plan construction, appoint principals, and develop new courses with hardly a glance at the community they are intended to lift up. More often, improvements never come. "You just can't get to them," an East Harlem parent said recently of the board of education.

The parents of I.S. 201 have been trying for eight years to get to the board. In 1958, the school was proposed as a junior high, to alleviate overcrowding in other buildings. Four years previously, the Supreme Court had ruled school segregation unconstitutional, and parents wanted to make sure that 201 would not be another *de facto* segregated institution. At the proposed site deep in East Harlem (127th Street, between Park and Madison), there was no hope of integration.

The school board was more sanguine. It made the first of what was to become a long string of promises that 201 would be both integrated and excellent. As a token of its intent, the board chose high-priced architects and gave them unusual freedom to develop a design. Officials announced that the school would cost $1 million more than others of the same size.

In the meantime, the city system was being reorganized to include "intermediate" schools of grades five through eight. The theory was that the concept of the "neighborhood school" was inviolate at the elementary level, but that encroachments were possible when children turned 11. The primary goal was racial integration, and educators made solemn prophecies of both its advent and efficacy in bringing better education. Some parents were not entirely convinced. "No one really believed that white parents in Queens would *schlepp* their kids all the way to East Harlem so that they could go to school in a slum," a white teacher said recently, "but the board insisted it would happen, and no one questioned it."

Parents in East Harlem were questioning it, well below the level of public visibility. They opposed the site, the design, the zoning, the proposed curriculum, and even the name. Local residents were asked to choose an appropriate hero to identify the school beyond the somewhat impersonal "201." But before they acted, the board began referring to it as the "Arthur A. Schomburg School." No one in the area is quite sure who Mr. Schomburg was.

I.S. 201 ("Schomburg" never caught on) began rising. There were still no assurances of integration when the board announced it would open last April 1. The superintendent of schools in the Harlem area (there are local districts and advisory boards within the city system, but no decentralization of control) revealed that a formula had been found to "integrate" 201: it would be 50 percent Negro and 50 percent Puerto Rican.

Such a mixture was not exactly what the parents had in mind, and they thereupon sat in at the district superintendent's office. School officials responded with *their* appropriate demonstration, a cave-in. They said

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the "feeder pattern" of elementary schools into 201 would be changed (for the third time) to alter the racial composition of the new school, and that it would not, after all, open for the term in April.

In the early spring, the informal coalition of parents' organizations and local action groups formed a committee to direct the 201 campaign. For the first time, a consistent strategy and the bare outlines of a program began to take shape. It was skeletal enough for a (long) bumper sticker: "Keep I.S. 201 Closed – for either De-Segregation or Total Community Control for Quality Education." The theoretician of the parents' movement was Preston Wilcox, a professor of community organizing at Columbia's School of Social Work. He is one of the few Negro intellectuals in New York who maintains close ties to the ghetto; he acts as a consultant to a militant East Harlem action group called the Triangle Community Association.

Good Black Schools

At a crowded public meeting in April with school officials and Mayor Lindsay, Wilcox circulated a "position paper" setting forth the central demand of the campaign: control over educational policy at 201 by the poor, black parents of its pupils. Wilcox's proposal was to set up a school-community committee, with power to screen and select a principal and top staff, run after-school and adult programs, oversee curriculum, and take part in what was happening in Harlem – fish fries or protest actions – beyond the regular schooling process.

Like many people in Harlem, Wilcox had awakened from the dream of integration with the realization that ghetto schools were going to be segregated, give or take "token" integration that made little difference, for the foreseeable future. "If one believes that a segregated white school can be a 'good' school," he wrote recently, "then one must believe that a segregated Negro and Puerto Rican School can be a 'good' school also. We must be concerned with those who are left behind and will be left behind even if the best conceivable school desegregation program should be implemented."

"If it is true that the public school system can do no more than it is already doing, then the residents of the ghetto must seize the opportunity to assume a leadership role in the education of their own children. In this they claim only a chance to exercise, for better or worse, the same right which is exercised by some of those outside the ghetto."

Harlem's new mood was reflecting the attitudes of Negroes in many parts of the country. "We went down the road thinking that integration was the key to good education," a New York City official said last month, "but we've been unable to achieve integration, and in most places its just not feasible. Now there's an increasing lack of conviction that that's the way to improve the quality of the schools. We've gone through the argument that integrated education *is* quality education, and almost through the argument that integration forces school boards to *give* quality education."

If they could not have integration, the parents of 201 wanted what Livingston Wingate, the director of Harlem's big poverty-warring Haryou-ACT, called "quality education – segregated style." "Don't expend another generation of black children," he told the parents. They seemed to agree, and stepped up the pressure. Officials called off scheduled summer activities at 201 to avoid further conflict.

Despite all the motion, the parents and the school board had had remarkably little contact so far. In the great tradition of establishments beset by insurgencies, the officials preferred to think that the active parents represented no one but themselves. Where were they to turn for their information? None of Harlem's 30 schools have Negro principals, and most teachers in slum schools – white and Negro – live safely outside the slums, and have little to do with life after school.

Middle-level officials suggested meetings with 201 parents, but the Harlemites said they would meet only with the top dogs. They had been put off too often, one parent said, by officials with no decision-making power. They tried to run around the board's end: during the summer they met with Mayor Lindsay, and with US Education Commissioner Harold Howe II in Washington.

Finally in mid-August, City School Superintendent Bernard Donovan and Board of Education President Lloyd K. Garrison went up to Harlem to see the parents' committee. The parents asked for integration; the officials said they would not start "compulsory busing." The parents asked for community control; Donovan said he would see what could be done. There were more crossed wires as opening day in the fall approached, and in a final meeting in early September, Garrison told the parents they had to withdraw their demand for control of 201. The committee vowed to boycott the school and walked out.

I.S. 201 didn't open on September 12, when the rest of the city's 1,091,625 pupils went to their classes. It stayed shut all the first week, while negotiations resumed. There were 60 pickets around the school the first day – hardly a mass movement, but the school officials were apparently impressed. For by the weekend, Donovan had agreed to the parents' crucial points: a community council would control school policy and could in effect veto staff appointments if there were "sound and serious objections." More than that, Donovan promised – according to the parents at the meeting – to see to the removal of 201's principal, Stanley Lis-

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ser, and told parents to draw up a list of possible replacements.

The school remained closed the following Monday, and the pupils were put in an unused school while "final" negotiations were taking place. But now, the parents and the officials were joined on the stage by a cast of thousands. The huge New York City Local 2, the United Federation of Teachers, the largest teachers' union local in the country, came on in an out-size huff. The teachers of 201 (29 whites, 26 Negroes) refused to teach at the temporary quarters because of their concern for the "educational welfare of the children." Instead, they held a meeting in 201. Superintendent Donovan arrived and told the staff that the school would open the next day, and that Lisser *would* be principal. So saying, everyone went to lunch, including Lisser, who retired to a nearby restaurant and had just ordered a shrimp cocktail when he was called to the phone. He spoke for a few minutes, returned to the table, and told his companions he "requested a transfer" from 201.

That afternoon, Donovan told the parents that their major demands had been met. A Negro assistant principal, Beryl Banfield, would be temporarily in charge. (There are no Negro male principals – and only three Negro women principals – in the system's 875 schools). Donovan went on television with Mrs. Helen Testamark, an East Harlem stalwart who was the parents' chief negotiator. She pledged to take her daughter to school the next morning.

But they both had reckoned without the teachers' union, the mayor's office, city-wide parents' groups – and the whole range of pressures which are always noises off in the play of New York politics. As soon as the 201 teachers heard of Lisser's resignation, they voted (unanimously) to boycott classes. Miss Banfield said she did not want to be principal if she was being chosen for her race. Union president Albert Shanker threatened to pull his 54,000 members out of the school system. The thirty (white) Harlem principals fired off an angry protest to the board.

The school finally opened on Tuesday, September 20, but only for the pupils. Now the teachers were boycotting. They showed up for work – on the picket line in front of the board of education building in Brooklyn. By that time, the only issue seemed to be the color of the principal of I.S. 201. At 11 a.m., the board threw up its collective hands and turned down the East Harlem parents' committee's demands in toto. They rejected the Wilcox plan for local control, and reinstated Lisser.

Until then, the fight at 201 was pretty much a local affair; the activists were parents of pupils assigned to 201. But the collapse of negotiations made it a Harlem affair. The next day, with all teachers and most pupils finally in school, the parents' picket line had a tougher tone. Local black militants and African-robed "nationalists" joined in. Stokely Carmichael, of SNCC, arrived early. As demonstrations continued into the week, there were arrests and complaints of police "brutality."

From a position of uneasy compromise, whites involved or interested in the controversy moved quickly to a position on the hard line. Mayor Lindsay went up to the school, brushed through the pickets, chatted with Lisser, and came out with the conclusion that the principal was "one of the finest" in the city. Max Lerner and James Wechsler (in the *Post*), congratulated Lisser and the teachers for standing up to black power.

What had happened was a complete fragmentation of the reality of the situation. Each interested party had its unique perception of the events; like versions of the *Rashomon* play, each was at odds with the other. The Negroes were overwhelmed with the issue of "race." More than control, they wanted *black* control. Lisser was not a well-loved figure in Harlem (he had had problems of a similar kind at other schools), but the parents were willing to overlook him as an individual. They knew that school principals are important figures in New York communities, and they wanted a principal who was one of them. To get a black principal would be to get a new measure of power.

The school board was concerned with maintaining its bureaucratic structure intact. There were rules, laws, obligations and responsibilities to uphold. To break through them all and give authority to local parents was a terrifying prospect. The board knew that the residents were "articulating their discontent," as one board official said, "but whether they are articulating the methods to cure the discontent is another matter."

Who Is Qualified?

The teachers, Negro and white, were fearful that their professionalism was being undermined. Credentials are too important, and too difficult to accumulate, to be exposed to the whims of "unqualified" parents. "Professional matters must not be subjected to popularity contests," union president Shanker said.

Mayor Lindsay saw the situation in another way: he has been pushing to establish some political control over the quite "independent" school board (the mayor appoints, but cannot direct the members). The "Human Resources" report, which is the theoretical document of the Lindsay administration, envisages an "office of education liaison" close to the mayor, and Lindsay would like to break up the education monolith into "sub-systems" of local control. At the beginning, he saw the parents' campaign as an opportunity to put some substance into the rhetoric of decentralization. He made some harsh criticisms of the school board ("clumsy") and his aides jumped into the middle of the controversy. He shot off a critical letter to the board, and the

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board answered him, defending its independence against political encroachment. But in the end the political pressures themselves became too strong on Lindsay, and he slithered out, for the moment at least, by alternately praising Lisser, sympathizing with the parents, and placating the board.

The Middlemen Enter

There were other roles to be played. Governor Rockefeller, in the middle of his hard fight for third-term reelection, proposed that school board members be elected (Lindsay is against the idea). Negro politicians and civil rights leaders, as well as church and labor officials, tried to find openings to assert their own power (and build bases) in the 201 controversy. Civil rights spokesmen A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin entered into the negotiations. Then, when the school reopened and the parents' group was clearly falling apart, Manhattan borough president Percy Sutton, city councilman (and Tammany chief) J. Raymond Jones, and state board of regents member Kenneth Clark (all Negroes) began working on a compromise to get everyone off the hook. Clark, the City College psychologist who drew up the original Haryou proposal ("Youth in the Ghetto"), revived his old idea to attach a slum school to a university, and remove the package from board of education control by delegating authority to a private "operational board."

The 201 parents' committee took Clark's suggestion and grafted on to it a measure of "community control" from the now-deferred Wilcox proposal. It was far from the "total" control they had demanded, and many of the more militant protesters were peeved at the compromise, but the group decided it was worth a try. Clark was the broker between the committee and the school board. He shuffled between meetings of the one in Harlem, and the other in Brooklyn, and was almost destroyed in the crossfire. In his account, the board was duplicitous, discourteous, and unresponsive. The parents were suspicious and demanding. He finally decided to bow out, after a long session with the school board. When it was over, he later told the parents frankly, "I went home and cried." "I don't believe the board is serious or takes the people of this community seriously," he said. "The time has come for people themselves to return to direct dealing with the board."

What that dealing will be was an open question last week, as the parents waited for the board to accept or reject the modified Clark proposal. There could be an attempt at Harlem-wide demonstrations (perhaps led by Haryou's 1,880 "area board" delegates) on the issue of community control and decentralization at all the schools in the ghetto.

If that happens, I.S. 201 may get lost in the shuffle. Business is going on there more or less as usual, with a platoon of police guarding it on the outside, and patrols inside for good measure. It is a massive, horizontal brick slab atop 14-foot-high stilts, covering a city block. It is fully air-conditioned, and there are no windows to distract pupils with the reality of their lives outside. The final mix is 80 percent Negro, 20 Puerto Rican. Inside, teachers go about their business, which (on the day I saw them), consisted largely of maintaining discipline – a comon enough occupation in most schools, but an obsessive one in schools in the slums. A teacher who has spent many years in Harlem schools explained, "middle-class teachers are terrified of slum kids, even young ones. They see slum parents sitting on the kids' shoulders, ready to pounce. They have to impose absolute order on their classes."

The new school is supposed to have several innovations, many of which Harlem parents have been demanding for years (Negro and African history, civil rights studies, foreign languages, small classes). "The thing about New York schools is that it's always possible to say something is being done," one of the parents' negotiators said. "There are always pilot projects, but they never amount to much. So far, there has never been a pilot project on the fundamental question of the participation of black people in the education of their children."

"The whole business is just an attempt to establish formally what other communities establish informally," she went on. "Pride comes when people run their own affairs. We need black male principals in Harlem who can be advocates in their communities, who live here and love it here. Then maybe these young people will see an example of what they can be, and they can have some expectation of a different sort of life."

The only coherent way to see the I.S. 201 controversy, from all the conflicting fragments, seems to be as a long search of people for a sense of their community, which is to say a sense of themselves. It is necessarily a painful, destructive, often arbitrary process, full of nonsense and irrelevance. But there is an indication of its importance in the strength of the impact the 201 controversy has made. No doubt, the parents will not "succeed" in any of the ways they now propose. "This is something like the fifth approximation out of, say, 20 before a lasting relationship is reached," a city official said. It may not ever bring the kind of "quality education" people envisage.

"But the parents' concern," an organizer in East Harlem said, "is that whoever gets an education here will want to rebuild their community. Now, the most talented students leave. Only the dropouts stay. The only way I know to give young people that desire to return to Harlem – to stay in Harlem – is to let them be proud of Harlem."

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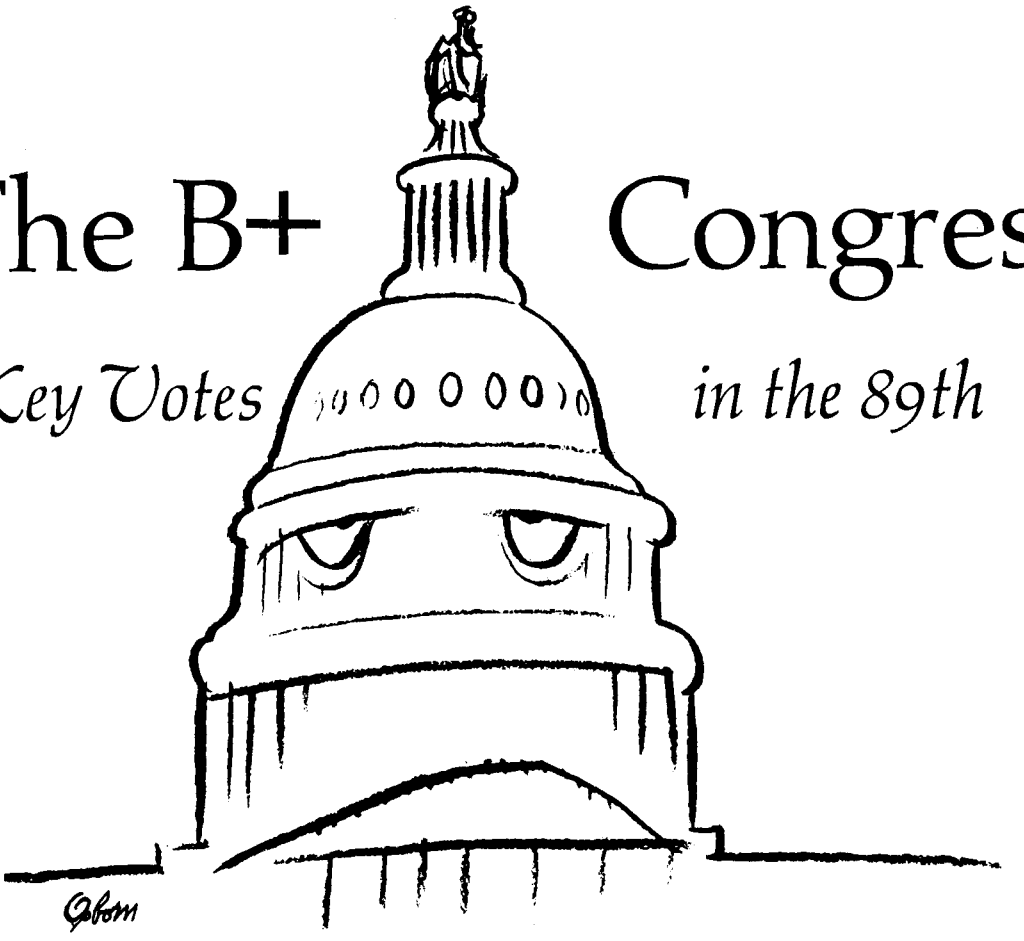
The B+ Congress

Key Votes in the 89th



The 89th was a B+ Congress – not excellent, better than fair, very good. In approving Medicare and aid to elementary and secondary schools, it proved itself an innovative Congress. In picking 24 votes from among hundreds cast in the House and Senate during the past two years, we have tried to choose those which have a significant bearing on welfare, education, civil rights and civil liberties, peace and security. In some instances, roll call on final passage (or rejection) is ignored; we instead list ayes and nays on a more telling preceding amendment.

No representative or senator can be fairly judged on one or two votes. The complete record of performance includes parliamentary skill and industriousness. Some congressmen are diligent committee workers, participate in the discussion and framing of bills; some do little more than show up for the final vote, and some don't even do that. Moreover, a legislator whose record is generally admirable may on occasion vote against his better judgment because constituent pressures dictate that particular decision. More than once, the national interest has been served by a congressman's preferring to live to fight another day. Nor do the 24 votes listed on the following pages represent all important issues that have come to the attention of Congress. Many proposals never reach the floor, are bottled up in committees, are defeated in committee by a majority, which might not, however, represent the view of a majority of all the legislators.

In putting together the tabulations that follow, we have leaned heavily on the reliable record-keeping of Congressional Quarterly. THE EDITORS

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SENATE

1. WATER POLLUTION: *January 28, 1965.*
Where the states are unable or unwilling to combat pollution of interstate waterways, the federal government needs to step in, set water quality standards and seek pollution abatement. An amendment proposed by Senator Tower (R, Tex.) to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act would have authorized the federal government to "recommend" (but not to set) standards which the states could then follow or ignore. It failed 15-62.

3 Democrats and 12 Republicans voted for the amendment; 49 Democrats and 13 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

2. POLICE INTERROGATIONS: *August 31, 1965.*
The Supreme Court in *Mallory* v. *US* (1957) ruled that "unnecessary delay" in bringing a suspect before a judge invalidates a confession. A proposed revision of the District of Columbia Criminal Code stated that confessions obtained during the first three hours of *aggregate* questioning could not be excluded solely on the grounds of "unnecessary delay." Senators Tydings (D, Md.) and Kennedy (D, N.Y.) proposed deleting this provision, arguing that the supposed increase in Washington's crime rate would not be materially affected by circumventing the Mallory rule. Their amendment was rejected 26-67.

23 Democrats and 3 Republicans voted for the amendment; 39 Democrats and 28 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked plus.)

3. REPEAL GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION: *March 1, 1966.*
President Johnson has cited Congress' 1964 "Gulf of Tonkin" resolution as giving blanket authority for all subsequent US military activities in Vietnam. Passed after attacks on US destroyers by North Vietnamese PT boats in August 1964, the resolution expressed Congress' approval and support of "the determination of the President, as Commander-in-Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression" in Southeast Asia. Senator Morse's (D, Ore.) attempt this year to repeal the resolution, made in an amendment to a supplemental defense appropriation bill, failed. It was tabled by a vote of 92-5. Several senators, including Clark (D, Pa.) said their vote against the Morse amendment did not mean endorsement of Administration policy in Vietnam.

60 Democrats and 32 Republicans voted to table; 5 Democrats and no Republicans voted against. (A vote to table is marked minus.)

4. REAPPORTIONMENT: *April 20, 1966.*
The Supreme Court in 1964 ruled that both houses of state legislatures must be apportioned on a population basis – the one-man, one-vote rule. To get around that decision, Minority Leader Dirksen (R, Ill.) offered a Constitutional amendment allowing states to apportion one house on the basis of geography and political subdivisions as well as population. It failed to get the necessary two-thirds majority. The vote was 55-38.

26 Democrats and 29 Republicans voted for Dirksen's amendment; 35 Democrats and 3 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

5. RENT SUPPLEMENTS: *April 27, 1966.*
The Administration had asked for $30 million for a new program to help low-income families pay their rents. Congress reduced this amount to $12 million, enough to assist perhaps 20,000 families. The Appropriations Committee put forward an amendment to delete the section authorizing $12 million in contractual authority for rent supplements and a $100,000 appropriation for rent supplement payments in fiscal year 1966. It was rejected 45-46.

19 Democrats and 26 Republicans voted for the amendment; 41 Democrats and 5 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

6. TRUTH IN PACKAGING: *June 8, 1966.*
Senator Cotton (R, N.H.) led Republican attempts to knock out key provisions of the bill to prevent deceptive packaging and labeling practices. His amendment to delete the section providing for federal package weight and quantity standards for consumer items was rejected 32-53. (The mandatory federal standards met with no such luck in the House-passed bill; they were eliminated in committee.)

7 Democrats and 25 Republicans voted for the Cotton amendment; 49 Democrats and 4 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

7. CIA COMMITTEE: *July 14, 1966.*
The Central Intelligence Agency, which shuns publicity, has nevertheless gotten a lot of it, much of it unfavorable, for its far-flung foreign operations and its questionable advice to the President (*e.g.*, the Bay of Pigs invasion). Senators McCarthy (D, Minn.) and Fulbright (D, Ark.) thought the CIA needed closer scrutiny than it was getting from the National Security Council and the Senate subcommittee chaired by Russell (D, Ga.) and made up of members of his Armed Services Committee and the Senate Appropriations Committee. A resolution to establish a new 9-member Committee on Intelligence Operations which would include three members of Foreign Relations failed. Russell's point of order (intended to kill the resolution by referring it to the Armed Services Committee) was sustained 61-28.

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36 Democrats and 25 Republicans voted for referral; 21 Democrats and 7 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

8. FOREIGN AID: *July 20, 1966.*
Senator Dirksen (R, Ill.) wished to reduce by $250 million the 1967 authorization for the Development Loan Fund, thus cutting it to $370 million. Dirksen said the cut was necessary because of the high costs of the Vietnam war. The amendment was accepted 59-34.

31 Democrats and 28 Republicans voted for the reduction; 31 Democrats and 3 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

9. DEMONSTRATION CITIES: *August 19, 1966.*
Senator Tower (R, Tex.) proposed slicing $900 million from the President's modest program of aid to 60 or 70 selected cities over two years (for housing, urban renewal, transportation, welfare), leaving only $24 million for "planning." Amendment rejected 27-53.

10 Democrats and 17 Republicans voted for the amendment; 43 Democrats and 10 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

10. MINIMUM WAGE: *August 25, 1966.*
Senator Fannin (R, Ariz.) moved to defer the new $1.60 minimum wage until 1969. Senator Yarborough (D, Tex.), floor manager for the Administration bill to broaden coverage to eight million new workers (including 400,000 farm laborers) and raise the wage floor for currently covered workers from $1.25 to $1.60 by 1968, argued that even this "barely provides a poverty level of living today." Fannin's amendment failed 40-42.

19 Democrats and 21 Republicans voted for the amendment; 35 Democrats and 7 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

11. CLOTURE ON CIVIL RIGHTS: *September 14, 1966.*
Senate Majority Leader Mansfield's motion to invoke cloture on debate on the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966 (open housing, ban on discrimination in selecting jurors, protection for Negroes and civil rights workers) was rejected. It was the first defeat for an Administration civil rights bill since 1957. The cloture motion, requiring a two-thirds majority, failed 54-42.

42 Democrats and 12 Republicans voted for cloture; 21 Democrats and 21 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked plus.)

12. POVERTY FUNDS: *October 4, 1966.*
Senator Dirksen (R, Ill.) submitted an amendment to cut $746 million from the 1967 war on poverty authorization, from $2.5 billion to $1.75 billion. The amendment had the blessing of President Johnson but was opposed by senators who argued that the poor were being unnecessarily sacrificed to the war in Vietnam. The amendment passed 45-27.

23 Democrats and 22 Republicans voted for the cut; 25 Democrats and 2 Republicans were against. (A voted for is marked minus.)

HOUSE

1. 21-DAY RULE: *January 4, 1965.*
President Kennedy got the House Rules Committee enlarged from 12 to 15 members, hoping more Democrats on Judge Smith's powerful committee would break the chairman's death grip on Administration bills. The first day of the 89th Congress Representative Albert (D, Okla.) proposed House rules be changed to permit floor action on any bill tied up in the Rules Committee 21 days. The amended rules were approved by voice vote after the House voted to cut off debate 224-202.

208 Democrats and 16 Republicans voted for stopping debate; 79 Democrats and 123 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked plus.)

2. UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE: *February 25, 1965.*
Representative Edwards (D, Calif.) tried to hold up authorization of $370,000 in investigation expenses for HUAC, pending hearings on how funds would be used. His motion to send the authorization bill back to committee for hearings failed 58-333.

57 Democrats and 1 Republican voted for recommital; 207 Democrats and 126 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked plus.)

3. ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION: *March 26, 1965.*
In what President Johnson referred to as "the greatest breakthrough in the advance of education since the Constitution was written," the House voted a three-year program of federal aid to public and private elementary and secondary schools. The bill provided for grants to school districts with many children from poor families, grants to buy books and library materials, money for educational research, and grants to state education departments. The bill passed 263-153.

228 Democrats and 35 Republicans voted for the bill; 57 Democrats and 96 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked plus.)

4. MEDICARE: *April 8, 1965.*
After a 25-year fight for medical care financed under Social Security, the House passed and sent to the Senate a compulsory health-insurance program for persons 65 and over. The bill also included a supplemen-

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tary voluntary health-insurance program, increases in Social Security benefits, expansion of Kerr-Mills assistance to the indigent aged, child health care. The vote for passage was 313-115.

248 Democrats and 65 Republicans voted for the bill; 42 Democrats and 73 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked plus.)

5. VIETNAM MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS: *May 5, 1965.*

All within three days, the President requested and Congress passed a $700-million supplemental appropriation for US military activities in Southeast Asia. The President regarded passage as "prompt support of our basic course: resistance to aggression, moderation in the use of power, and a constant search for peace." The House voted the appropriation 408-7.

273 Democrats and 135 Republicans voted for the supplemental; 7 Democrats and no Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

6. POVERTY AMENDMENTS: *September 15, 1965.*

To keep the war on poverty as free as possible from political patronage and meddling, the Senate voted to repeal the power of state governors to veto certain programs. The House would not go along. On a motion by Representative Ayres (R, Ohio), it sent the bill back to conference insisting on the veto provision, though permitting federal officials to override it. The Ayres motion was adopted 209-180.

82 Democrats and 127 Republicans voted for the motion. 180 Democrats and no Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

7. VOTING RIGHTS: *July 9, 1965.*

Representative Collier (R, Ill.) tried to weaken the voting rights bill by recommitting it to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to substitute an alternative which would not automatically trigger federal registrars, not ban nondiscriminatory state literacy tests for states with traditions of voter discrimination, and not require delinquent states to get federal court approval for voting laws enacted after the appointment of federal voting examiners. Collier lost 171-248.

56 Democrats and 115 Republicans voted for the motion; 227 Democrats and 21 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

8. RENT SUPPLEMENTS: *March 29, 1966.*

Republicans invoked inflationary pressures and the war in Vietnam as reasons for opposing the funding of rent supplements for low-income families. Representative Bow (R. Ohio) moved to send the appropriations bill back to committee, instructing it to delete $12 million in contractual authority for rent supplements and $100,000 in appropriations for payments during fiscal 1966. The motion failed 190-198.

65 Democrats and 125 Republicans voted for the motion; 192 Democrats and 6 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

9. FOOD FOR FREEDOM: *June 9, 1966.*

Under the Food for Peace program, local currency sales of US agricultural produce to unfriendly nations and to any nation transporting goods to Cuba had been banned. When the program was enlarged and renamed this year, North Vietnam was added to the list. Representative Walker (R, Miss.) proposed going further. His motion to recommit the bill with instructions to ban sales to all communist countries (affected: Poland and Yugoslavia) was rejected 157-200.

39 Democrats and 118 Republicans voted for the motion; 194 Democrats and 6 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

10. OPEN HOUSING: *August 9, 1966.*

Representative Moore (R, W.Va.) wanted to strike from the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966 Title IV, the controversial open-housing provision. His recommital motion failed, 190-222.

104 Democrats and 86 Republicans voted for the motion; 172 Democrats and 50 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

11. MINIMUM WAGE: *September 7, 1966.*

Both the House and Senate had approved an increase in the minimum wage to $1.60. But the House version called for the new minimum to become effective in 1969 – a year later than the Senate had planned. Conferees preferred the Senate timetable. The matter was settled when the House voted down an appeal by Representative Ayres (R, Ohio) to send the measure back to conference insisting on the 1969 effective date. The vote was 163-183.

62 Democrats and 101 Republicans voted for the motion to recommit; 165 Democrats and 18 Republicans voted no. (A vote for is marked minus.)

12. FOREIGN AID CUTS: *September 20, 1966.*

On a motion by Representative Bow (R, Ohio) the foreign-aid appropriation bill was returned to committee with instructions to limit economic assistance in fiscal 1967 to $2.2 billion. Along with cuts already made by the Appropriations Committee this amounted to a 10-percent reduction in economic aid below the Administration request. The Bow motion was approved 186-183.

70 Democrats and 116 Republicans voted for recommital; 175 Democrats and 8 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

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	Water Pollution	Police Interrogation	Repeal Tonkin Gulf Res.	Reapportionment	Rent Supplements	Truth in Packaging	C.I.A. Committee	Foreign Aid	Demonstration Cities	Minimum Wage	Civil Rights Cloture	Poverty Funds
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ALABAMA												
Hill (D)	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	O	–	–	–
Sparkman (D)	+	–	–	–	+	+	O	–	O	–	–	–
ALSAKA												
Bartlett (D)	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+
Gruening (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
ARIZONA												
Hayden (D)	O	–	–	–	+	O	–	+	O	O	–	O
Fannin (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ARKANSAS												
Fulbright (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
McClellan (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
CALIFORNIA												
Kuchel (R)	+	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	+	+	+	–
Murphy (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
COLORADO												
Allott (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
Dominick (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
CONNECTICUT												
Dodd (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
Ribicoff (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
DELAWARE												
Boggs (R)	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
Williams (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
FLORIDA												
Holland (D)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Smathers (D)	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	O	–	–	–
GEORGIA												
Russell (D)	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Talmadge (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
HAWAII												
Inouye (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	O
Fong (R)	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
IDAHO												
Church (D)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	O
Jordan (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ILLINOIS												
Douglas (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
Dirksen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
INDIANA												
Bayh (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
Hartke (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	O	+	–
IOWA												
Hickenlooper (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Miller (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
KANSAS												
Carlson (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
Pearson (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
KENTUCKY												
Cooper (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	O
Morton (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
LOUISIANA												
Ellender (D)	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
Long (D)	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
MAINE												
Muskie (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Smith (R)	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
MARYLAND												
Brewster (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
Tydings (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
MASSACHUSETTS												
Kennedy (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Saltonstall (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
MICHIGAN												
Hart (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Griffin (R)						–	+	–	–	–	+	–
MINNESOTA												
McCarthy (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
Mondale (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
MISSISSIPPI												
Eastland (D)	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Stennis (D)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
MISSOURI												
Long (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
Symington (D)	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
MONTANA												
Mansfield (D)	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Metcalf (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	O	+	O
NEBRASKA												
Curtis (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hruska (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NEVADA												
Bible (D)	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
Cannon (D)	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
McIntyre (D)	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	O
Cotton (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NEW JERSEY												
Williams (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Case (R)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEW MEXICO												
Anderson (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	O
Montoya (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
NEW YORK												
Kennedy (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Javits (R)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA												
Ervin (D)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Jordan (D)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NORTH DAKOTA												
Burdick (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
Young (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
OHIO												
Lausche (D)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
Young (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
OKLAHOMA												
Harris (D)	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
Monroney (D)	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
OREGON												
Morse (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
Neuberger (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
PENNSYLVANIA												
Clark (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Scott (R)	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
RHODE ISLAND												
Pastore (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
Pell (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA												
Russell (D)		–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	+	–	–
Thurmond (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
SOUTH DAKOTA												
McGovern (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mundt (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
TENNESSEE												
Bass (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	O
Gore (D)	+	O	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
TEXAS												
Yarborough (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
Tower (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
UTAH												
Moss (D)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Bennett (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
VERMONT												
Aiken (R)	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
Prouty (R)	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
VIRGINIA												
Byrd, Jr. (D)			–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Robertson (D)	–	–	–	O	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
WASHINGTON												
Jackson (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
Magnuson (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	O	+	+	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA												
Byrd (D)	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
Randolph (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
WISCONSIN												
Nelson (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Proxmire (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
WYOMING												
McGee (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
Simpson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

New Republic ratings:

The symbol [+] indicates NR's agreement with the position taken; the symbol [–] indicates disagreement. The pairs for and against legislation follow the same general classification. Those paired generally, absent, or not voting are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the Senate.

A short explanation of each of the votes appears on pages 16-18.

Votes compiled from reports of the Congressional Quarterly.

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	1 21-Day Rule	2 Un-Amer. Activities Com.	3 Education	4 Medicare	5 Vietnam Military Approp.	6 Poverty Amendments	7 Voting Rights	8 Rent Supplements	9 Food for Freedom	10 Open Housing	11 Minimum Wage	12 Foreign Aid Cuts
ALABAMA												
3 Andrews (D)	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–
8 Jones (D)	+	–	O	O	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
5 Selden (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Andrews (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Buchanan (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Dickinson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Edwards (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Martin (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–
ALASKA												
AL Rivers (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
ARIZONA												
3 Senner (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	O	O	+	+	+
2 Udall (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Rhodes (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ARKANSAS												
1 Gathings (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
4 Vacancy												
2 Mills (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	O	O	O	–	–	–
3 Trimble (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	–	+	+
CALIFORNIA												
5 Burton (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Cohelan (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
33 Dyal (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
9 Edwards (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Hagen (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
34 Hanna (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
2 Johnson (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Leggett (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 McFall (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Miller (D)	+	O	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
3 Moss (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
16 Sisk (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
38 Tunney (D)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
37 Van Deerlin (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Waldie (D)										+	+	+
1 Clausen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
10 Gubser (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
6 Mailliard (R)	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	O	–	+	+	+
12 Talcott (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
13 Teague (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
35 Utt (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
36 Wilson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 Younger (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Los Angeles County												
29 Brown (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	–
25 Cameron (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
22 Corman (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 Hawkins (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Holifield (D)	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
17 King (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26 Rees (D)								+	O	+	+	+
30 Roybal (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
31 Wilson (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
28 Bell (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
23 Clawson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
32 Hosmer (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	O	–
24 Lipscomb (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
27 Reinecke (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
20 Smith (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
COLORADO												
4 Aspinall (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
3 Evans (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 McVicker (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Rogers (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CONNECTICUT												
1 Daddario (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Giaimo (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Grabowski (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Irwin (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Monagan (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 St. Onge (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

	1 21-Day Rule	2 Un-Amer. Activities Com.	3 Education	4 Medicare	5 Vietnam Military Approp.	6 Poverty Amendments	7 Voting Rights	8 Rent Supplements	9 Food for Freedom	10 Open Housing	11 Minimum Wage	12 Foreign Aid Cuts
DELAWARE												
AL McDowell (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
FLORIDA												
2 Bennett (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Fascell (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Fuqua (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
10 Gibbons (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
7 Haley (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Herlong (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
8 Matthews (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
3 Pepper (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Rogers (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1 Sikes (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
12 Cramer (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 Gurney (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
GEORGIA												
7 Davis (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
6 Flynt (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
1 Hagan (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Landrum (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	O	–	–	+
4 Mackay (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
2 O'Neal (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 Stephens (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
8 Tuten (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
5 Weltner (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
3 Callaway (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
HAWAII												
AL Matsunaga (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
AL Mink (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
IDAHO												
1 White (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
2 Hansen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ILLINOIS												
21 Gray (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
24 Price (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Schisler (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
23 Shipley (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
16 Anderson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
17 Arends (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14 Erlenborn (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
20 Findley (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
12 McClory (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
18 Michel (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
15 Reid (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
22 Springer (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Chicago—Cook County												
7 Annunzio (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Dawson (D)	+	O	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
5 Kluczynski (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Murphy (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 O'Hara (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
11 Pucinski (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
6 Ronan (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Rostenkowski (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Yates (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Collier (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Derwinski (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
13 Rumsfeld (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
INDIANA												
3 Brademas (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Denton (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
9 Hamilton (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
11 Jacobs (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Madden (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Roush (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
4 Adair (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Bray (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Halleck (R)	–	O	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 Harvey (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–
6 Roudebush (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
IOWA												
4 Bandstra (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Culver (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
6 Greigg (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
7 Hansen (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	O	+
1 Schmidhauser (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Smith (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	O	+	+	O	+
3 Gross (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
KANSAS												
1 Dole (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Ellsworth (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
4 Shriver (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Mize (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
5 Skubitz (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

New Republic ratings:

The symbol [+] indicates NR's agreement with the position taken; the symbol [–] *indicates disagreement*. The pairs for and against legislation follow the same general classification. Those paired generally, absent, or not voting are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the Senate.

*The Speaker of the House does not vote except in case of a tie.

A short explanation of each of the votes appears on pages 16-18.

Votes compiled from reports of the Congressional Quarterly.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

	21-Day Rule	Un-Amer. Activities Com.	Education	Medicare	Vietnam Military Approp.	Poverty Amendments	Voting Rights	Rent Supplements	Food for Freedom	Open Housing	Minimum Wage	Foreign Aid Cuts
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
KENTUCKY												
4 Chelf (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	O	+	–	+	+
3 Farnsley (D)	+	O	+	+	–	O	+	+	+	–	+	+
2 Natcher (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
7 Perkins (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Stubblefield (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
6 Watts (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
5 Carter (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
LOUISIANA												
2 Boggs (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1 Hebert (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
8 Long (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
6 Morrison (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	O	O	O
5 Passman (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O
7 Edwards (D)								+	O	–	O	–
4 Waggonner (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
3 Willis (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	O	O	–	O	–
MAINE												
2 Hathaway (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Tupper (R)	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	O	+	+	–
MARYLAND												
4 Fallon (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
7 Friedel (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Garmatz (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
2 Long (D)	+	–	+	+	–	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Machen (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
AL Sickles (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Mathias (R)	+	–	+	+	O	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1 Morton (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–
MASSACHUSETTS												
2 Boland (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Burke (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Donohue (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Macdonald (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
9 McCormack (D)*												
8 O'Neill (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Philbin (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Bates (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1 Conte (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
12 Keith (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
10 Martin (R)	–	O	+	+	–	–	–	O	–	+	+	O
5 Morse (R)	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
MICHIGAN												
11 Clevenger (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Farnum (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Mackie (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 O'Hara (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Todd (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
2 Vivian (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Broomfield (R)	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
10 Cederberg (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Chamberlain (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Ford (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Vacancy												
8 Harvey (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	O	+	–	–
4 Hutchinson (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Detroit—Wayne County												
1 Conyers (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
13 Diggs (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 Dingell (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Ford (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 Griffiths (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Nedzi (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MINNESOTA												
8 Blatnik (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
5 Fraser (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Karth (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Olson (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
7 Langen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 MacGregor (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	+	–	–
2 Nelsen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Quie (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
MISSISSIPPI												
1 Abernethy (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Colmer (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
2 Whitten (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Williams (D)	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
4 Walker (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

	21-Day Rule	Un-Amer. Activities Com.	Education	Medicare	Vietnam Military Approp.	Poverty Amendments	Voting Rights	Rent Supplements	Food for Freedom	Open Housing	Minimum Wage	Foreign Aid Cuts
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
MISSOURI												
5 Bolling (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	O
6 Hull (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
9 Hungate (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
8 Ichord (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
10 Jones (D)	–	–	O	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	O	–
1 Karsten (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Randall (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
3 Sullivan (D)	+	O	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Curtis (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Hall (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
MONTANA												
1 Olsen (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2 Battin (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
NEBRASKA												
1 Callan (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2 Cunningham (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
3 Martin (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NEVADA												
AL Baring (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
1 Huot (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Cleveland (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
NEW JERSEY												
14 Daniels (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 Gallagher (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Helstoski (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Howard (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Joelson (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 Krebs (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Minish (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
2 McGrath (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Patten (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Rodino (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Thompson (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
1 Cahill (R)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+
6 Dwyer (R)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
5 Frelinghuysen (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
7 Widnall (R)	–	O	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
NEW MEXICO												
AL Morris (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	O	–	–	–
AL Walker (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
NEW YORK												
27 Dow (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
41 Dulski (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
34 Hanley (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
39 McCarthy (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	O	–
29 O'Brien (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25 Ottinger (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Pike (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
28 Resnick (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35 Stratton (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
5 Tenzer (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
3 Wolff (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
37 Conable (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
38 Goodell (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2 Grover (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
36 Horton (R)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
30 King (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–
31 McEwen (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
32 Pirnie (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
26 Reid (R)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
33 Robison (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
40 Smith (R)	–	O	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	+	–	–
4 Wydler (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
New York City												
7 Addabbo (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23 Bingham (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Carey (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Celler (D)	+	O	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Delaney (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
19 Farbstein (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Gilbert (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 Kelly (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Keogh (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
13 Multer (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
16 Murphy (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
18 Powell (D)	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
14 Rooney (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
8 Rosenthal (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Ryan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 Scheuer (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24 Fino (R)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	O	+	O	–
6 Halpern (R)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
17 Kupferman (R)								+	–	+	+	+

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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
NORTH CAROLINA												
1 Jones (D)								–	+	–	–	–
4 Cooley (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
2 Fountain (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Henderson (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
6 Kornegay (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Lennon (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
5 Scott (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
11 Taylor (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 Whitener (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Broyhill (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
8 Jonas (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NORTH DAKOTA												
2 Redlin (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
1 Andrews (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
OHIO												
9 Ashley (D)	+	+	+	O	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Feighan (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Gilligan (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
18 Hays (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
19 Kirwan (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Love (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
10 Moeller (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
15 Secrest (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
AL Sweeney (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	O	+	+	–
21 Vanik (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 Ashbrook (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14 Ayres (R)	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
8 Betts (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
22 Bolton (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	+
16 Bow (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–
7 Brown, Jr. (R)								–	–	+	–	–
2 Clancy (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
12 Devine (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Harsha (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Latta (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 McCulloch (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
23 Minshall (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–
13 Mosher (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	O	+	O	–
11 Stanton (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
OKLAHOMA												
3 Albert (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Edmondson (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
5 Jarman (D)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Johnson (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
4 Steed (D)	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1 Belcher (R)	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
OREGON												
4 Duncan (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Green (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Ullman (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Wyatt (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
PENNSYLVANIA												
25 Clark (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Craley (D)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 Dent (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
11 Flood (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
20 Holland (D)	O	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Moorhead (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26 Morgan (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Rhodes (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Rooney (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24 Vigorito (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
18 Corbett (R)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
8 Curtin (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Dague (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
27 Fulton (R)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
23 Johnson (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
16 Kunkel (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
10 McDade (R)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
22 Saylor (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
17 Schneebeli (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
13 Schweiker (R)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
7 Watkins (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
12 Whalley (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
Philadelphia City												
1 Barrett (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Byrne (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Green (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Nix (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
4 Toll (D)	O	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	O	+	O	+
RHODE ISLAND												
2 Fogarty (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 St. Germain (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
SOUTH CAROLINA												
4 Ashmore (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
3 Dorn (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
5 Gettys (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
6 McMillan (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
1 Rivers (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	+
2 Watson (R)						–	–	–	–	–	–	–
SOUTH DAKOTA												
2 Berry (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Reifel (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
TENNESSEE												
6 Anderson (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
8 Everett (D)	–	O	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
4 Evins (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	O	–	+	+
5 Fulton (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	O	O	+	+	+
9 Grider (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
7 Murray (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	–
3 Brock (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Duncan (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Quillen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
TEXAS												
3 Beckworth (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2 Brooks (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 Burleson (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
5 Cabell (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
22 Casey (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
15 De la Garza (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	O	–	–	+
7 Dowdy (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
21 Fisher (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
20 Gonzalez (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Mahon (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1 Patman (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
10 Pickle (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
11 Poage (D)	–	–	+	–	–	O	+	–	+	–	–	–
AL Pool (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
13 Purcell (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	O
4 Roberts (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
18 Rogers (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
6 Teague (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
8 Thomas (D)									+	–	+	+
9 Thompson (D)	+	O	–	+	–	O	O	+	+	–	–	+
16 White (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
12 Wright (D)	+	–	+	+	–	O	+	O	+	–	–	+
14 Young (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
UTAH												
2 King (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
1 Burton (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
VERMONT												
AL Stafford (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
VIRGINIA												
4 Abbitt (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
1 Downing (D)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2 Hardy (D)	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	O	–	–	+
9 Jennings (D)	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
7 Marsh (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Satterfield (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
8 Smith (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Tuck (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 Broyhill (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Poff (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
WASHINGTON												
7 Adams (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Foley (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
3 Hansen (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Hicks (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
2 Meeds (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 May (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–
1 Pelly (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	–	+	–
WEST VIRGINIA												
4 Hechler (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
5 Kee (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Slack (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
2 Staggers (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Moore (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
WISCONSIN												
2 Kastenmeier (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Race (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	–	+	–
5 Reuss (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Stalbaum (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Zablocki (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
8 Byrnes (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
7 Laird (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–
10 O'Konski (R)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	O	–	–	O	–
3 Thomson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Davis (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
WYOMING												
AL Roncalio (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	O

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STANLEY KAUFFMANN *Tenor on Horseback*

I have been feeling a bit depressed for the past few days, and I know why. It was that tenor on the horse.

He appears in Samuel Barber's new opera, *Antony and Cleopatra,* which was the opening production of the new Metropolitan Opera. If that opening had been planned to aid those who criticize Lincoln Center and the cultural explosion, it could hardly have been better designed. Around Barber's opera, clouds of oblivion have already begun to gather. Still, some things remain to be said about it and the occasion.

Barber is an unmemorable operatic talent, but he is an intelligent man. I wonder why he could not have known what Virgil Thomson knows. In his newly published autobiography Thomson writes:

> "Blank verse is in any circumstance no friend to music; and blank verse of the great dramatic masters has never been successfully intoned. Shakespeare in translation, which is to say, without his poetry, has given the opera repertory *Falstaff, Otello, Hamlet* several times, *Romeo and Juliet* even oftener; he has not yet inspired a first-class opera in English."

Anyway, Barber's lack of talent is not the primary point; it is the very idea of commissioning an American opera that is at fault. Let us leave unproduced scores out of the discussion; they cannot be argued about. In terms of what has been produced, there has never been an American opera composer of consequence; there is no American operatic tradition of consequence; and, if socio-cultural history and portents can be read, we can say flatly there never will be an American opera of consequence. This is no secret (although it is often fudged with nebulous hopes), not even from Rudolf Bing and his associates. But undismayed by the MGM-soundtrack score of *Vanessa,* they commissioned Barber yet again.

If they really believe that Barber is a valuable opera composer and that opera in anything like the tradition of European opera can be written in this country, then the situation is even worse than it seems. But I do not think they are so ignorant. I think they commissioned Barber *despite* their knowledge of these matters: because they wanted an American work to open an opera house in America. (Fundamentally, this is as logical as commissioning an American work to open a Shakespeare theatre in America.) In other words, a non-artistic motive impelled them to order an American opera for the occasion, along with the other furnishings – red carpet, flowers, and so forth.

But the chauvinistic impulse was not consistent. Franco Zeffirelli, whose native language is not English, was employed to adapt Shakespeare's play for Barber. Zeffirelli was also engaged to design the production and to direct. His work as a director has been seen here in *Lady of the Camellias* and *Romeo and Juliet* and has been thought by some, including myself, to be meretriciously flashy. Yet this *Antony* was not even a meretriciously flashy show. It was dull, undynamic, lumpy; and the stage was strewn with extras who could more profitably have been employed in last year's Repertory Theatre production of *Danton's Death,* which had to be content with a French revolutionary mob of about twelve.

As to Zeffirelli's designs, the effect was as of the *Ziegfeld Follies,* vintage 1927, seen through bamboo window-blinds. He also succeeded in dressing Leontyne Price, one of the sexiest women on the stage, with such anti-feminist skill that no curve of her body or voluptuousness of movement was ever conveyed.

I omit comment on the opera house itself except to say that its exterior is immeasurably more attractive than the old Met but its interior is a hodge-podge of old Met and new methods.

Anyway, after 10 years and $45 million of expenditures, we filed up the poured-concrete stairs, sat under the gilt Christmas-wrapping ceiling, and got our pseudo *Aida.* What we were given as the contemporary fruit of all that effort and expense was a tenor singing on horseback.

My depression does not arise from any literal-minded view of opera, à la Dr. Johnson. Precisely because I am an opera buff, I was pained by this *opéra bouffe.* Nor do I think that the new opera house flopped because it opened with a flop, like a win-or-lose Broadway show; obviously there will be many beautiful performances in a house that is mechanically and acoustically well-equipped. My depression arises from a belief that this major event was prepared *without conviction:* empty obeisance to presumed cultural and social demands.

It is further depressing that the subject of Lincoln Center's faults, young as the center is, has already become a dead horse, possibly overwhipped. True, there is Balanchine. True, Leonard Bernstein seemed enormously improved in the last season. But there are intrinsics in the plant and in the purposes that seem unimprovable. There Lincoln Center will stand, for decades to come, a monument to businessmen's ambitions for immortality, to architectural mélange, to disregard of urban necessities, and to artistic misconception. Like most such projects throughout the country, it is based on the fallacy of centralization, as if there were some virtue in the physical grouping of theatres. There seems to be a muzzy mystique that a cluster of theatres will reenforce one another, that good neighbors can just dash across the plaza and borrow a couple of dancers or some spirit gum.

These criticisms have already been made many times by others. Others have also often made the point that statistics of attendance at various cultural centers or of endowment prove nothing about real artistic health. Our job – in this easily bored age – is to remember that these arguments are not one whit less true for being familiar.

There is an additional point. Nothing would be improved by *not* having these luxurious new theatres or the subsidy of community, foundation, and government. On the contrary, if there is creative talent in this country, the existence of these buildings and funds should turn out to be beneficial. The history of the arts is crammed with proofs that

(Continued on page 38)

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Miss Murdoch's Monster Rally

by Philip Toynbee

In a dilapidated London vicarage a mysterious clergyman called Carel Fisher is brooding incommunicado. His privacy is guarded by Pattie, his mulatto mistress, against constant assaults on it by his brother Marcus, a schoolmaster who is writing a thesis on ethics without God; by Marcus' friend Norah Shadox-Brown, a woman of liberal good sense; and by a foolish impor-

The Time of the Angels
by Iris Murdoch
(Viking; $5)

tunate parishioner called Anthea Barlow. The household consists of Muriel, Carel's 24-year-old daughter, Elizabeth, his adopted niece, who is confined to her room by an inexplicable spinal disease; a general-servant called Eugene Peshkov, who is a middle-aged White Russian, rich in childhood memories of happy days in St. Petersburg – but rich in nothing else – and Eugene's son, Leo, a naïvely immoral youth of large sexual ambitions.

And what happens to them all? Pattie and Eugene fall in love – but nothing comes of it since Pattie's bondage to Carel proves unbreakable. Leo steals his father's treasured icon, but Marcus, who loves Leo, buys it back and returns it. Muriel recognizes that she also loves Eugene, which increases her ancient hatred for Pattie. She also discovers, while Leo is half making love to her in a closet, that her father is having a love affair with Elizabeth. A moment later it is revealed that Elizabeth is Carel's natural daughter. Carel, whose few appearances have revealed him as a satanically disillusioned Christian, kills himself with a bottle of pills which Muriel had been saving for herself. The curtain goes down on Eugene – sad, charming and resigned as ever, leaving the desecrated vicarage for yet another "transit camp," vaguely wishing that he had been kinder to his dead wife.

To increase the gothic and Victorian atmosphere Miss Murdoch uses words like "sojourn" and "ailing," and even allows her characters to speak with a kind of archaic pedanticism. The texture of the book can be illustrated from the first three passages, which are not in dialogue:

> "Pattie stretches out her plump arms, rich brown in color, just a little darker in hue than a *cappuccino*, and with cramped chilled fingers claws at cinders in the bottom of the narrow grate."

> "As Pattie sighs and sinks back on her heels a ladder darts up her stocking like a little lizard."

> "A faint sound of music comes from above. *Swan Lake*. And for a second Pattie's body feels all feathery and light. Pattie has seen ballet, watching from far above the white figures moving like animated flowers. But I am fat now, she thinks at the next instant, I am a fat girl now."

Isolated quotations always give a more *voulu* and self-conscious air than they do when they are read in their contexts. The first point I am trying to make is that Miss Murdoch writes very well – better, in this book, than ever she used to. Her writing *is* self-conscious, but where is the naïve and unspoilt child of our time who can write well without self-consciousness. Whatever she may be up to, in the larger sense, Miss Murdoch is able to deploy a language which, in the smaller sense, completely succeeds in doing the trick. The trick in this case is to create an atmosphere of sophisticated horror, an artificial world in which the artifice is meant to show, and contribute to, our general sense of strain and uneasiness.

But what about those larger purposes? The climax of the novel comes before the final melodrama – at the point when the simple-minded and well-intentioned Marcus at last succeeds in penetrating Pattie's guard and reaching his brother's study. His only reward is that Carel delivers a dreadful sermon at him about the godless horror of the universe, evil angels at work like exploded fragments of the dead god, an Ultimate Inane which can only be described as wickedness at the heart of things. Carel is a monster – and described, incidentally, with monstrous vividness:

> "Carel's face, usually protected by its curious stiffness, seemed uncovered now, as if a dry crust had been taken off it. His face was naked, moist and fresh, or perhaps it was that the expression was unusually concentrated in the eyes, which had grown huge and intent."

Carel is meant, presumably among other things, to make our flesh creep. But those other things are needed, of course, if we are to take this novel seriously. It may seem feeble to consult the blurb, but there are occasions when this seems the wisest course:

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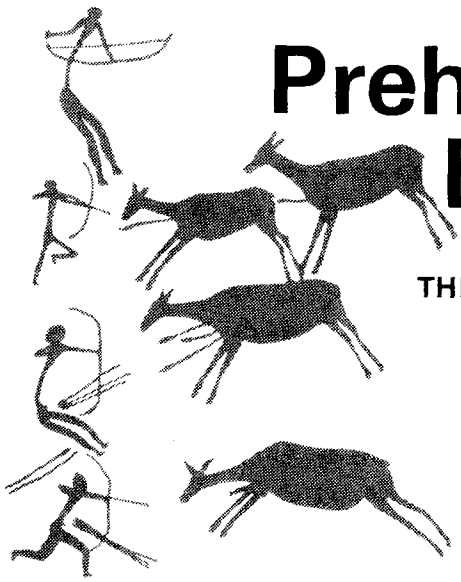

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reconcile this with a vague philosophy of optimism leads to disorders both ridiculous and tragic. The lethal fragments of discredited beliefs can't be applied to the conduct of life without disaster."

The second sentence is evidently meant for Marcus, that waffling and pathetic example of modern, humanistic thought. The last sentence is more important, referring as it must to the eccentrically wicked behavior of that fallen angel, Carel.

To reinforce this interpretation of the book there is some suggestion that Pattie's honest simplicity and even Norah's philistine common sense are greatly to be preferred to the tortured spiritual antics of Carel.

I should think so! But I'm left with the uneasy question of why this needed so elaborate and fanciful a demonstration. We all know that Miss Murdoch has been a professional philosopher, and one of the pleasures which her books have given has been the deftness with which she can lead us a dance in philosophical terms. But her tendency has always been to dress up her philosophical ideas in too rich and flamboyant a disguise – wishing, I assume, to humanize ideas which have become too rarified and academic to retain their pristine humanity. Miss Murdoch has missed the mark by going too far.

I believe that what she is saying in *The Time of the Angels* is not only true but an important truth. "Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds." A passionate Christian faith can turn, when it is harshly disappointed, into a vile misanthropy. I have known certain black "Christians" who have carried about with them a portable flame-thrower with which to scorch and excoriate that "modern world" which has so shaken the pillars of their faith.

But I'm afraid Miss Murdoch has muddied and traduced this theme by her penchant for playing tricks – for creating, in this case, an atmosphere of rich and pungent mystery, of gothic horror and melodrama. *The Time of the Angels* is a *tour-de-force*, but it is just this quality of devilish ingenuity which mutes and muffles the intellectual theme. Like so many of her earlier novels this one has fallen a victim to its own apparatus.

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Faith as Doubt

by Robert Coles

In the spring of 1956 an article appeared in the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* titled "The Vocational Hazards of Psychoanalysis." Its author was Allen Wheelis, a San Francisco analyst who did not hesitate to address his colleagues in a frankly autobiographical and lyrical tone. Two years later the same article appeared as a final chapter in Wheelis' first book, *The Illusionless Man*

The Illusionless Man
by Allen Wheelis
(Norton; $4.50)

Quest for Identity, and again the same direct, personal and unashamedly attractive task of demonstrating how significantly changes in social institutions affect the "inner" life that psychiatrists are on guard to observe – and all too often endow with an almost limitless self-sufficiency.

The "super-ego" or conscience that Freud saw at work in his middle-class, turn-of-the-century Viennese patients has of late received a number of decisive wounds: from relativistic theologians and philosophers; from materialistic parents and educators who have yet to decide what, in fact, they believe (for more than a minute) or find impelling enough to tell children in such a way that they can grow up with any experience of belief; and finally from psychoanalysis itself, which has helped many people abandon outmoded as well as irrational fears, but by definition failed to lend itself to prayer or provide reassurance and good cheer for people whose worries are real, conscious and (it must be said) "non-neurotic." All this Wheelis spelled out, in language both incisive and touching. The book's title was really his final statement: identity is gained only through work, through an uneasy but dedicated search, through exercise of the passion that doubt generates and the artist (among others the analyst also) sometimes manages to bring under control. In a sense the writer and the doctor in Wheelis achieved a necessary alliance; they both have an uncertain time of it, and each has reason to live warily, in constant danger of failure.

Scorn provides one diversion from the melancholy awareness of what is inevitably ahead for all of us. In 1960 Wheelis resorted to scorn with a vengeance. A harsh, tirelessly sullen and occasionally savage novel of his was published, called *The Seeker*. Again the title suggests inquiry and pursuit – in this case more of the latter, with a variety of women both distracting and symbolizing the author's philosophical search. I found the book a failure, despite its bold, mordant and correct look into the seamier side of psychiatric arrogance, pretense, and downright absurdity. The novel was badly flawed by its polemical outbursts; the plot failed to justify them, or prevent them from turning every character into a mouthpiece, every incident into a cause for the writer's brooding sense of outrage. In his first book the psychiatrist can at least hold on to *process*, to the cumulative integrity that goes with doing vexing work reasonably well and to the benefit of others, whatever the personal toll exacted from the doctor. In the second book the fact of sham in a profession, the presence of the fake and the vulgar among psychiatrists, become such overriding issues that almost everything is abandoned or taken away – from the reader and author alike, for Wheelis is an astonishingly intimate writer in spite of (perhaps because of) the loneliness he constantly struggles to overcome. If psychiatrists in America need a Kafka (or even a Céline) to do justice to the peculiarities, the ironies, or the emptiness of their lay ministry, Wheelis' novel proved that he was not the man for the job.

The third book shows why. Despite the protestations of his chosen title *(The Illusionless Man)* the author cannot shed himself of the very earnestness and willfulness, the very yielding compassion that he persists in mocking. The nihilism that plagues him and demands from him the constant effort of language is no match for what the book itself conveys, the conviction of an able writer, and the sensibility of an honest and refined mind.

The book is relatively short, but filled with enough to make one linger. There

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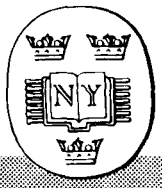

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are six pieces, four of them called fantasies and two described as meditations, the difference being the use of the parable or short story on the one hand and direct philosophic and moral argument on the other. "The Illusionless Man and The Visionary Maid" sets the stage: a man who can unmask everything to find its antecedents, who all the time spots guile or cant, meets up with a charming girl who trusts everyone and believes in whatever comes her bouncy, sociable way. The man wants the maid and gets her, but certainly does not see in her what she does in him. For him it is all need; for her the delightful mystery and transcendence of love. Eventually they have a rough time of it, grow apart but then come back together. What the one has the other, at the very least, cannot do without. Nevertheless, the drift of the influence they exert on one another is steadily in the direction of the man. From calling everything an illusion, he turns to saying "there isn't anything else" but life, with its ups and downs, good and bad. Resignation is not quite crabby disillusionment.

In the next story, "Sea Girls," every effort is made to show how early we can die spiritually, only to live on for decades in body and deadly habit. In his sleep a husband and father, a middle-aged, middle-class office worker dreams of a moment of real joy in childhood. It was only a moment, though, and one gathers a last gasp for a boy soon destined to die, the way Elizabeth Bowen has once and for all described in *The Death of the Heart.* We catch a glimpse of mere existence, of a man whose only escape is the daydream at the desk, whose only real spontaneity lies buried in a dream only fitfully recovered in certain nights of sleep.

Yet Wheelis will not let a description of that sort of living death be his final word. In "The League of Death" and "The Signal" he pulls an ironic tour de force by making of death a life-giving force. Everyday boredom (not time itself) destroys us. There is, then, only one real cure, the jolting immanent reality of death itself. Made to face death rather than allowed to escape the meaning of its final power (by paying the price of boredom) man will suddenly count his blessings and if not thrive at least liven up, or so "The League of Death" suggests. Similarly, a man who

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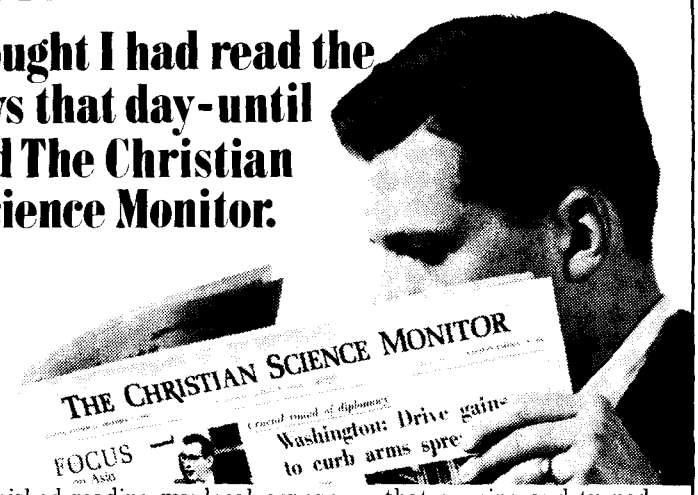
spends his life giving people messages of advice and consolation (tucked in fortune cookies rather than spoken in an office) one day dies saving an innocent bird from the machinery that produces his words, only to kill him. He goes smiling, in fact released – and saying the not completely grim and inscrutable words, "Don't cry for help; there is no help; but give a signal."

The book ends with the essays "To Be a God" and "The Moralist," really one sustained struggle by the author for an ethics he can reasonably call his own. It is here that I think Wheelis discreetly lets one know what might have once been his particular illusion. No science – even physics, let alone psychoanalysis – can give man the eternity and vision of redemption he craves in order to make sense of his fleeting bit of life on a whirling speck of a planet in a seeming ocean of a universe. Without God, what real chance do we have, or choice that counts for anything? We now know that we are a mass of atoms, held together by contrary charges, and in our mental life constantly affected by countless events that happen for all of us way before solid consciousness is achieved. We live, and soon enough we are no more. Why bother to sacrifice, to do the hard work of writing or listening with "real" seriousness to patients? Life at least offers pleasures – that is if one is lucky enough to be a well-to-do California psychoanalyst. Is one then a fool for "sweating it"?

Allen Wheelis is not the first one to struggle with such questions – though it is surprising and refreshing to find an American psychiatrist doing so. Unlike many of his colleagues Dr. Wheelis has a seriously Calvinist mind and he brings it to a century (and a professional community) otherwise – as it is put – "oriented." In this latest book he has dared confront problems shirked by others than doctors, but by more than enough of them, even though they claim a profession one would think naturally interested in moral questions because of its daily encounter with pain, suffering and death. I find in his writing an almost uncanny mixture of the religious and the skeptical. Despite himself he sets a hopeful example, particularly to any young and frightened psychiatrist struggling to keep his mind open and his heart alive in the face of a number

I thought I had read the news that day-until I read The Christian Science Monitor.



When I finished reading my local newspaper that evening and turned to the Monitor, what a surprise I got!

You see, I had never read the Monitor before, although I'd certainly heard of its reputation. I knew that no paper in the world was more respected. Now that I think back, I believe that is probably what scared me off. I think I felt the Monitor might be kind of stuffy and high-brow and hard to read.

But that evening I felt like reading an extra newspaper to help keep me company while my wife was out shopping and picked up a copy on the way home from work.

I'm thankful I did. Because the Monitor showed me I hadn't read *half* of the news that day. And the part I *had* read was probably the less interesting part!

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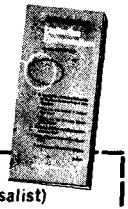

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FILMS

Epics: "The Bible" and "Hawaii"

When the announcement was made that Norman Mailer's *An American Dream* was to be made into a movie, my reaction was that John Huston was the only man who could do it. And what a script it could be for him! But Huston was working on *The Bible.* A quarter of a century had passed since *The Maltese Falcon,* it was a long time since *San Pietro* and *The Treasure of Sierra Madre* and *The Red Badge of Courage* and *The African Queen.* It was a decade since the stirring, often brilliant, but misconceived *Moby Dick,* and Huston had gone a different route – away from the immediacy of men testing themselves and the feel and smell of American experience. He had become a director of spectacles. Possibly, because of the way that big movie stars and directors live in a world of their own, insulated and out of touch, he might not even recognize that *An American Dream* was the spectacle of our time; was, even, his spectacle.

It turns out he was, at least, testing himself – as, earlier, he had attempted to do in *Moby Dick,* and, even after that, in parts of *The Roots of Heaven.* If, in making *The Treasure of Sierra Madre* he risked comparison with *Greed,* and if with *The Red Badge of Courage,* he risked comparison with *The Birth of a Nation, The Bible* risks comparison with *Intolerance.* It is a huge sprawling epic – an attempt to use the medium to its fullest, to overwhelm the senses and feelings, for gigantic myth-making, for a poetry of size and scope.

In recent years the spectacle form has become so vulgarized that probably most educated moviegoers have just about given it up. They don't think of movies in those terms anymore because in general the only way for artists to work in the medium is frugally. Though there might occasionally be great sequences in big pictures, like the retreat from Russia in King Vidor's *War and Peace,* those who knew the novel had probably left by then. But if you will admit that althought you may have gone to see *Lawrence of Arabia* under the delusion that it was going to be about T. E. Lawrence, you stayed to enjoy the vastness of the desert and the pleasures of the senses that a huge movie epic can provide, the pleasures of largeness and distances, then you may be willing to override your prejudices and too-narrow theories about what the art of the film is, and go to see *The Bible.*

For John Huston is an infinitely more complex screen artist than David Lean. He can be far worse than Lean because he's careless and sloppy and doesn't have all those safety nets of solid craftsmanship spread under him. What makes a David Lean spectacle uninteresting finally is that it's in such goddam good taste. It's all so ploddingly intelligent and controlled, so "distinguished." The hero may stick his arm in blood up to the elbow but you can be assured that the composition will be academically, impeccably composed. Lean plays the mad game of superspectacles like a sane man. Huston (like Mailer) tests himself, plays the crazy game crazy – to beat it, to win.

The worst problem of recent movie epics is that they usually start with an epic in another form and so the director must try to make a masterpiece to compete with an already existing one. This is enough to petrify most directors but it probably delights Huston. What more perverse challenge than to test himself against the Book? It's a flashy demonic gesture, like Nimrod shooting his arrow into God's heaven.

Huston shoots arrows all over the

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place; he pushes himself too hard, he tries to do too many different things. The movie is episodic not merely because the original material is episodic but also because, like Griffith in *Intolerance*, he can find no way to rhythm together everything that he's trying to do. Yet the grandeur of this kind of crazy, sinfully extravagant movie-making is in trying to do too much. We tend, now, to think of the art of the film in terms of depth, but there has always been something about the eclectic medium of movies that, like opera, attracts artists of Promethean temperament who want to use the medium for scale, and for a scale that will appeal to multitudes. I don't mean men like De Mille who made small-minded pictures on a big scale, they're about as Promethean as a cash-register. I mean men like Griffith and Von Stroheim and Abel Gance and Eisenstein and Fritz Lang and Orson Welles who thought *big*. Men whose prodigious failures could make other people's successes look puny. This is the tradition in which Huston's *The Bible* belongs. It's one in the eye – a big one in the eye – for those who talk about how artists should strive for excellence.

Huston's triumph is that despite the insanity of the attempt and the grandiosity of the project, the technology doesn't dominate the material: when you respond to the beauty of scenes in *The Bible*, it is not merely the beauty of photography but the beauty of conception.

The stories of Genesis are, of course, free of that wretched masochistic piety that makes movies about Christ so sickly. Pasolini's *The Gospel According to St. Matthew* was so static that I could hardly wait for that loathesome prissy young man to get crucified. Why do movie-makers think that's such a good story, anyway? If He could save Himself, why didn't He? Did He die just to make everybody feel rotten? The only thing that gives the story plausibility is, psychologically, not very attractive. And whether it's told the De Mille way, loaded with hypocritic sanctity, or the Pasolini way, drabness supposedly guaranteeing purity and truth, it's got a bad ending that doesn't make sense after those neat miracles.

The legends that Huston uses are, fortunately, more remote in time, are,

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indeed, all "miracles" and we are spared sanctity. The God who orders these events is so primitive and inexplicable that we may indeed wonder and perhaps be appalled. From Eve, whose crime scarcely seems commensurate with her punishment, on through to Hagar cast into the wilderness, and the cruel proof of obedience demanded of Abraham, it is a series of horror stories, alleviated only by the sweet and hopeful story of the Ark, where, for once, God seems to be smiling – no doubt, because we are taken inside the boat rather than left outside to suffer in the Flood. Huston tells it straight and retains that angry God, and Eve as the source of mischief, and phrases disquieting to modern ears, like "Fair are the angels of God." He hasn't taken the fashionable way out of trying to turn it all into charming metaphors and he hasn't "modernized" it into something comfortable and comforting. He doesn't, in the standard show business way, twist the story to make the hero sympathetic. Only with Peter O'Toole's three angels do we get the stale breath of the New Testament with the familiar skinny figure and that suffering-for-our-sins Look.

The movie may present a problem for religious people who have learned not to think of the Bible stories like this: it is commonly understood now that although the childish take the stories for truth, they are then educated to know that the stories are "metaphorical." The movie undercuts this liberal view by showing the power (and terror) of these cryptic, primitive tribal tales and fantasies of the origins of life on earth and why we are as we are. This God of wrath who frightens men to worship ain't no pretty metaphor.

One of the worst failures of the movie is, implicitly, a rather comic modern predicament. Huston obviously can't make anything acceptable out of the Bible's accounts of sinfulness and he falls back upon the silliest stereotypes of evil: the barbaric monsters who jeer at Noah's preparations for the Flood look like leftovers from a Steve Reeves-Hercules epic, and the posing, prancing faggots of Sodom seem as negligible as in *La Dolce Vita*. God couldn't have had much sense of humor if he went to the trouble of destroying them. Even their worship of the Golden Calf seems like a night-club act, absurd all right, but not nearly as horrible as the animal sacrifices that God accepts of Cain and orders of Abraham. It is a measure of the strength of Huston's vision that we are constantly shocked by the barbarism of this primitive religion with its self-serving myths; it is a measure of weakness that he goes along with its strange notions of evil without either making them believable or treating them as barbaric. Only in the rare moments when the Bible's ideas of wrong and our ideas of wrong coincide – as in Cain's murder of his brother – can Huston make sin convincing.

This movie has more things wrong with it than his *Moby Dick*, but they're not so catastrophic. Though Huston might conceivably have made a great Ahab himself, Gregory Peck could not: that nice man did not belong in the whirling center of Melville's vision. In *The Bible* it's questionable if that Ahab-character Huston belongs in Noah's homespun on the Ark. He plays it in the crowd-pleasing vein of his cute, shrewd Archbishop in *The Cardinal:* his Noah is puckish old innocent, a wise fool. He indulged his father Walter Huston in one scene of *The Treasure of Sierra Madre*, when the grizzled, toothless old prospector, tended by native lovelies, cocked an eye at the audience. Huston's Noah keeps asking the audience's indulgence, and Huston as director extends it. What was a momentary weakness in Huston Senior is the whole acting style of Huston Junior. His air of humility and wonder isn't so much acted as assumed, like a trick of personality – a double-take that has taken over the man.

The early part of the Abraham and Sarah story is poor: it looks and sounds like acted-out Bible stories on television. But then it begins to unfold, and we see that gentle, intelligent man Abraham raised to nobility by suffering. I mean we really see it. George C. Scott has the look of a prophet, and he gives the character an Old Testament fervor and splendor. Its a subdued, magnificent performance.

Probably the most seriously flawed sequence is the Tower of Babel, and as it is one of the most brilliant conceptions in the work, it is difficult to know why it is so badly structured and edited. The ideas remain latent: we can see what was intended, but the sequence is over before the dramatic point has been developed. And in this sequence, as in several others, Huston seems unable to maneuver the groups of people in the foreground; this clumsiness of staging, and the dubbing of many of the actors in minor roles, produce occasional dead scenes and dead sounds. It would be better if the musical score *were* dead: it is obtrusively alive, and at war with the imagery.

Now that Huston has done the Old Testament version of the beginnings of life, why doesn't he do the story of evolution? I'm serious: I can't think of a better story than how life probably developed on earth, and I wouldn't be surprised if the public is ready for it.

The overture to *Hawaii* prepares us to expect the worst: it's that kind of all-purpose pastiche with excruciating

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claims to authenticity that sells (600,000 albums of *Dr. Zhivago* have already been sold) and inevitably gets nominated for an Academy Award. The photography confirms our fears: it is bad picture-postcard art, with not more than two or three shots worth looking at in the entire movie.

Hawaii is an epic in the tradition of best-seller adaptations like *Gone With the Wind*, with love and rape and incest and childbirth and storms at sea and battles and fires and epidemics; it's based on an 1,130-page book with eight extra pages of genealogical charts of the principal characters – who have names like Abner and Jerusha and Captain Rafer Hoxworth. During the seven years that it has been in various stages of preparation, *Hawaii* has worn out a succession of screenwriters, and a succession of directors, and if you look at the book they were attempting to transfer to film, you can see why.

What I am describing sounds like a stinker. And by formal aesthetic standards it is. But it's a surprisingly absorbing movie, just the same.

Conventional movie forms can sometimes be brought to life by unconventional material or unconventional characters. *Gone With the Wind* (which was not a work of movie art, either) was entertaining largely because of that scheming little vixen Scarlett who cared more for land than for love. The theme of *Hawaii* is the destruction of the Hawaiian culture and its people; the movie opens in 1819, roughly 40 years after Captain Cook landed, and covers the influx of missionaries and land grabbers. At the center of the action (and, fortunately, he is rarely off screen) is Max Von Sydow as, undoubtedly, the most unlikely hero who ever domi. ted an expensive American movie. It's hard to guess if those who backed the movie were courageous or just foolhardy, but this central character is an insufferable, tactless man who antagonizes everybody, a Calvinist minister frighteningly strong in his narrow views. He's not human in the way we expect movie heroes to be, he's even an unjust man – a racist who believes in the superiority of his God and his skin and his traditions.

Many years ago, Victor Sjostrom, when he cast his countryman Lars Hanson as the Reverend Arthur Dimmesdale to Lillian Gish's great Hester Prynne, pointed out that Swedish actors had a special affinity for interpreting our Puritans. Von Sydow carries this movie. He accomplishes the almost impossible: he makes us give the ghastly, ludicrous minister our grudging admiration. Julie Andrews, pleasing enough in her early scenes, doesn't have the range or depth to develop a character. By the end, when she talks to her husband of love, she sounds quietly superior, like a school-mistress teaching him little lessons in humanity. It isn't acting, it's condescension, in the ladylike manner of Miss Greer Garson.

Richard Harris, however, provides the romantic strength that his swashbuckling role requires. And a non-professional Tahitian named Jocelyne La Garde is sublime as Malama, the sacred queen of the island, a warm mountain of flesh that is balanced against Von Sydow's scarecrow of spirit.

Unlike earlier generations of movie directors, the television and stage-trained directors who now make movies (and who rarely attempt spectacles) are not able to use a historical novel as source material to give their movies richness of atmosphere and detail. But George Roy Hill compensates for his inexperience in the medium by developing strong characterizations that succeed in binding the material. And the editing is astute: the movie keeps picking up its pace, moving ahead like an impatient storyteller, so that we rarely get too much of anything.

Even the things done badly are interesting because we can see what those who made the film were trying to get at, and why, and how hard it was to get as much as they did. It would be a loss if people were so sensitive to the aesthetics of motion pictures that they couldn't respond to a movie like *Hawaii* for the characters and the subject matter. As they say in the South about a meal of beans and rice, this movie sticks to your bones.

Cautionary notices:

Fielder Cook's *A Big Hand for the Little Lady* has a kind of brazen confidence and cheerful inconsequence that can be mistaken for entertainment, but there is not a single thing attempted in it that is worth any respect. It's a television Western comedy inflated by color and a big screen but conceptually all boxed in. There are so many close-

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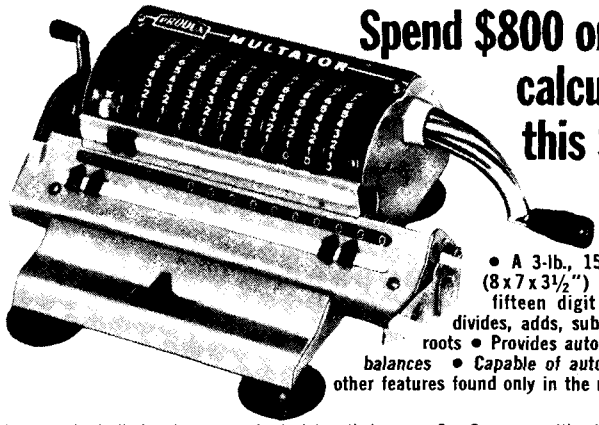
ups of Henry Fonda, Joanne Woodward, Jason Robards and Kevin McCarthy as they and a lot of old-timers play poker that you may begin to feel you never want to see any of them again, that all interest in their faces has been exhausted. When the action does, momentarily, get away from the card table, it has a nauseating perkiness. There are twists at the end planned in the patched-together television-play way to make people say, "Gee that was clever. I never expected it."

One good indication of what makes a man a successful hack is his idea of art. Periodically Delbert Mann expiates his box-office successes (*Lover Come Back, That Touch of Mink*) with attempts to be "honest." The latest and most disastrous is *Mr. Buddwing*, a feebly earnest testament of confusion, full of television-style clichés about how people feel when they've Sold Out. The hero, James Garner, is suffering from, God help us, amnesia. I used to think that amnesia was just the first refuge of a lazy screenwriter, but this script is based on a novel (by Evan Hunter). Somebody actually paid money for the idea of an amnesiac hero searching for his identity. And here's the gloss on the big idea: he's not just an amnesiac, he's Everyman. Two of our finest actresses (Jean Simmons and Angela Lansbury) are sunk in this morass; somehow Suzanne Pleshette manages to stay afloat for a few scenes, then she, too, is submerged. I've had a better time cleaning out closets than I did at this movie. At least, the debris was my own.

Another American Everyman in the higher income brackets is the central character of *Seconds*, a peculiarly ugly, heavy, and humorless variation on the Faust theme. There is nothing like these attempts to Say Something for bringing out the worst in everybody, and the producers are rather shrewdly selling this as a horror picture. *Seconds* has the germ of an idea: a banker who is vaguely dissatisfied with his life arranges for a second chance but doesn't have any conception of a new life. But the central character is deliberately made dull, and for the movie to have any center, he should be dull to himself without being dull to us. The story goes off on complications about a diabolical business enterprise; the director, John Frankenheimer, shows off with a bacchanal; and James Wong Howe displays his camera pyrotechnics as if they were going on sale in the nation's supermarkets. There is one harrowing scene of two people in their fifties kissing and, despite their enervation, getting excited. But that's not to be interpreted as a recommendation. The men who made this picture are talented but they can't convincingly condemn an ugly, empty life by such ugly, empty means. It *is* a horror picture: imagine having a second chance at life and coming back as Rock Hudson!

The new occupant at Radio City Music Hall and a fit successor to *Kaleidoscope* is *Any Wednesday*, a Broadway bedroom farce with expense-account jokes and Jane Fonda and Jason Robards hopping about with blank, stupid faces and ticky, manic movements. Somebody must have thought this was comic style. *Any Wednesday* was directed, needless to say, by someone from television. It is loaded with product tie-ins (like Borden's Milk, *Time* magazine, Jack Daniels, and furs and cabs and restaurants, etc.); the difference between television and movies is getting to be that when you go to the movies you pay for the commercials. In *Any Wednesday*, the dialogue is so repulsively arch and teasing that, as with many a television program, the plugs are a welcome relief. They at least are ingenious. Toward the end – and I stuck it out so I could be sure you don't need to – there is a sequence in which the errant husband is won back to his wife of twenty years when he sees her taking a bath. Old sex could be the worst discovery since the teenager.

And what of *An American Dream*? It has been written and directed by some other fellows from television. The first fifteen minutes of Eleanor Parker in and out of bed can be recommended to connoisseurs of the tawdry, though the movie as a whole doesn't rank with *The Oscar*. *The Oscar* is the modern classic of the genre. The Joseph E. Levine beds and draperies were already deluxe in *The Carpetbaggers* and *Harlow*. In *The Oscar* he added Harlan Ellison's incomparable bedroom conversations, and it's such a perfect commingling the words might have sprouted from the coverlets. PAULINE KAEL



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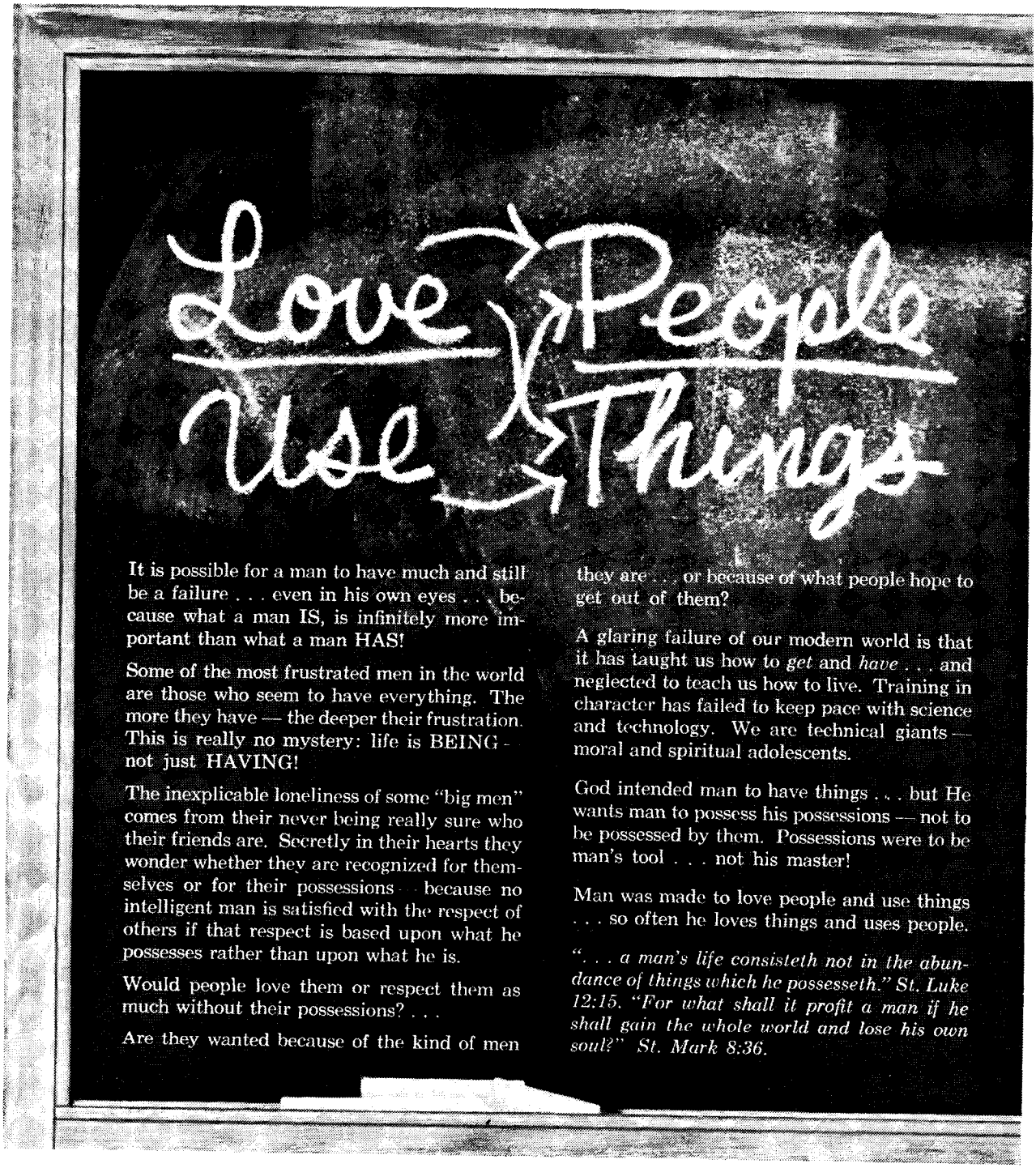

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Correspondence

Physician, Heal Thyself

Sirs:

Reading "Physician, Heal Thyself" by Mr. E. T. Chase (October 8) reminded me of the times in college and medical school when friends in other fields chided me by stating that sanitary engineers, by preventing disease, did more public service than physicians by curing disease. Although I was in complete agreement, I pointed out that the profession with the greatest potential for promoting the public good was politics because politicians created policy.

I realize now that novelists, writers of documentaries and book reviewers must be included because they create the opinions which stimulate the politicians to act. Our society would be utopian if these and members of other professions would be as selflessly dedicated and self sacrificing as they expect physicians to be.

The basic patterns of human nature are pretty evenly distributed throughout all of mankind regardless of race or geography, but they are affected by the social environment at all group levels. At risk of appearing prejudiced I believe that physicians, including witch doctors and practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine, are a little more humane in their nature than the general average or that in the professions cited and others.

Many professions are less taxing emotionally, just as gratifying intellectually and just as remunerative as medicine. Most physicians have the intelligence and skill to be competent and productive in another profession but they chose medicine. American medical practice is not perfect and some of Mr. Gross' suggestions may be useful. The plight of medicine in Great Britain, however, does reveal that there are no easy solutions and that an individual's concern for his self interest and welfare cannot be overlooked.

Eugene L. Balter, MD
Flemington, N. J.

Mr. Chase reviews a book which condemns medicare as unscientific, suffering from ineffective and fragmented knowledge, achieving a low level of correct diagnoses. The book also faults current medical education for its emphasis on "research and theory."

A perceptive reviewer might have had some doubts about a book which pleads for more scientific precision while advocating, like any Bible Belt legislature, measures which would repel the scientifically talented or intellectually alive. Mr. Chase senses no inconsistency, for in his mind medicine can do no right, and is probably responsible for the boll weavil and the collapse of the Dodgers.

Thus he barely reviews the book – he repeats some of its more shocking premises, puts in his usual sad little plug for prepaid group practice, implies that doctors are interested in "emergency" medicine because that's "where the money is" (demonstrably untrue – it is, however, where the excitement is), and concludes that medicine "must eventually be administered as a public utility or even as a government service." Like the Department of Agriculture, I guess.

I shouldn't have been surprised. The AMA always told us that "liberal" meant "socialist" and, though I resisted the definition, Mr. Chase appears determined to prove the AMA right. Since I still can't quite bring myself to join the AMA, I perhaps better join the anti-bureaucratic, "unreconstructed free enterprisers" of the New Left and get all the protesting out of my system. As a conscript in Mr. Chase's "government service," I would have neither the right nor the inclination to criticize my employer publicly over Vietnam. Or anything else.

Michael J. Halberstam, MD
Washington, D. C.

Instincts

Sirs:

The New Republic's readers deserve to know that no respected professional in the fields of anthropology, sociology, psychology – or for that matter, in the new field of animal behavior – has had anything favorable to say about Robert Ardrey's anachronistic arguments for a universal "instinct for territoriality."

Briefly, Ardrey's thesis ignores anthropology's discoveries of the infinite variability of human conceptions of "property rights"; psychology's early discovery of the inadequacy, inconsistency and teleological character of "instinct" explanations of human behavior; and, finally sociology's distinctions between simple and complex social organizations.

The popularity of Ardrey's book ("The Territorial Imperative," reviewed in *NR*, October 1) has little to do with any intrinsic merit. It is the result of a popular need for an authority that will reduce human behavior to some simple formula that will make ethical decisions and social policy less complicated for us. Ardrey's book is particularly popular because it provides a rationalization for the current anti-Utopian, pessimistic political mood. Unfortunately, there is one set of needs that it cannot satisfy – the requirements of legitimate scientific theory.

Vivian S. Hixson
East Lansing, Mich.

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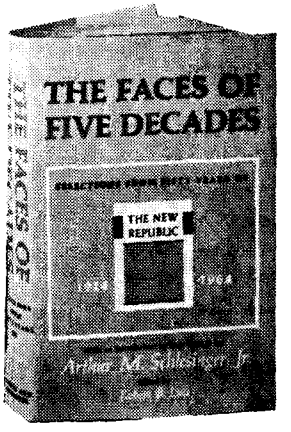

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Kauffmann, *from page 23*

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Sit by my side, come as close as the air
Share in a memory of grey
And wander in my words
And dream about the pictures that I play of changes

"Love Me I'm A Liberal" © Barricade Music ASCAP

Sure, once I was young and impulsive. I wore every conceivable pin.
Even went to Socialist meetings, learned all the old union hymns.
Ah, but I've grown older and wiser, and that's why I'm turning you in.
So love, me, love me, I'm a liberal.

"There But For Fortune" © Appleseed Music ASCAP

Show me a country where the bombs had to fall.
Show me the ruins of the buildings once so tall.
And I'll show you a young land with so many reasons why
And there but for fortune go you, or I.

"Cops of the World" © Barricade Music ASCAP

Come get out of the way boys. Quick get out of the way.
You'd better watch what you say boys, better watch what you say.
We've rammed in your harbor. We've tied to your port.
And our pistols are hungry and our tempers are short.
So bring your daughters around to the fort
'Cause we're the cops of the world boys, we're the cops of the world.

"Santo Domingo" © Barricade Music ASCAP

The crabs are crazy, they scuttle back and forth
The sand is burning
And the fish take flight and scatter from the sight
Their course is turning
As the seagulls rest on the cold cannon nest
The sea is churning
The marines have landed on the shore of Santo Domingo.

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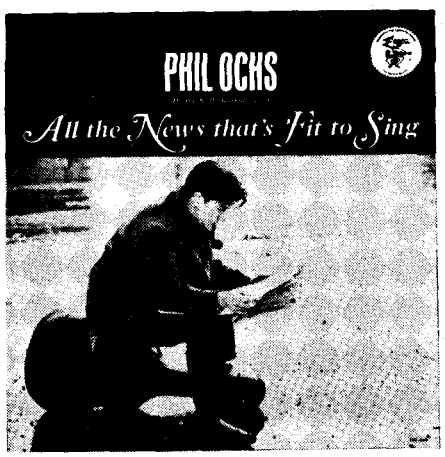

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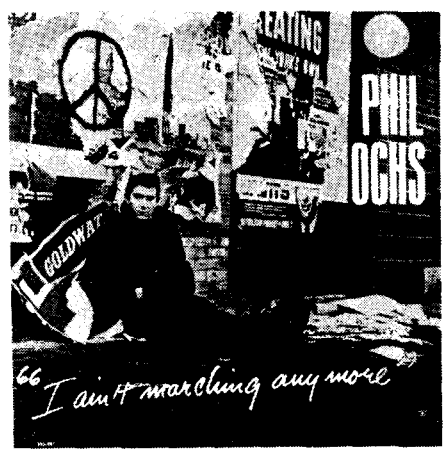

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